

THESIS ON

THE PRESENTATION OF THE ARTIST-HERO IN 19th-CENTURY
GERMAN DRAMA

PRESENTED FOR THE DEGREE OF Ph.D., UNIVERSITY OF
GLASGOW

OCTOBER, 1951

by

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CHAPTER I:

Dramatic treatment of the subject in G.
in the 19th century.

PREFACE.

This thesis is based on a study of some two hundred German dramas of the 19th century. A list of these dramas is found on p.176 in the form of an appendix to the text. There is further appended on p.213 a bibliography of all critical works used during the study - works treating individual dramatists and dramas, the 19th-century background and appropriate aspects of general aesthetics.

G.R.

London, June 1951.

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CHAPTER I.DRAMATIC TREATMENT OF THE ARTIST IN GERMANY IN THE 19th
CENTURY.

The presentation of the artist-hero in 19th-century German drama - the title itself of this study automatically suggests several questions which demand an answer. One obvious question certainly springs to mind - What kind of drama contains an artist-hero? - or, in other words, what is an artist-drama? Its definition is inevitably elastic; it is constructed around an artist as central figure. Within that broad framework many illuminating details may however be added. The artist-hero may appear as painter, sculptor, poet, musician, actor, or even as a more passive kind of artist— the dilettante. He may be a ~~figure~~ founded on historical fact and bearing a famous name, or he may be an artist created by the dramatist's imagination. The drama woven around this central character may be either comedy or tragedy, treating a farcical situation or a serious human problem.

And why, one may ask, should one treat particularly the German artist-drama of the 19th century? Does this form of drama have any special significance in the Germany of that period? It is true that the form

has a place in the literature of many languages; but German literature is unusually rich in examples of it. These examples are to be found over a number of centuries, but it is in the 19th century in particular that they abound. A total of over three hundred dramas, written during that period and concerning art and the artist, testifies to this fact. Wilhelm Waetoldt makes this comment on the popularity of the artist-drama in the Germany of the 19th century: 'In Deutschland wachsen die 'Maler-Poeten' so viel dichter als in den übrigen Ländern, und das 19. Jahrhundert ist reicher als die vorhergegangenen an Beziehungen zwischen Literatur und bildender Kunst.'⁽¹⁾ The 19th century does indeed throw the artist and his problems into clear relief in a variety of ways. In the early Romantic period, for instance, the artist was regarded as an object of peculiar interest, his greatness was adored and his talent held up for the study and admiration of all. This Romantic age seems to have been the most fruitful time

(1) 'Wechselwirkungen zwischen deutscher Malerei und Dichtung im 19. Jahrhundert.' In Jahrbuch des Freien Deutschen Hochstifts. 1913. p.13.

within the century for the production of the artist-drama. Only slightly less fruitful however is the next literary movement of the century - the Realist movement. Its theories again have particular bearing upon the artist, whose devotion to intangible values contrasts sharply with the contemporary obsession with the material. Later in the century interest is once again focussed directly upon the artist and his art. The Aesthetic movement, esteeming imagination above reality, gives new life to the form of drama in which the central figure is the traditional champion of the imagination - the artist.

If one accepts the fact that the artist-drama was a genre which appealed strongly to German dramatists in the 19th century, one must observe any development during that period in the genre as a whole. One aspect in which such development may be seen concerns the presentation of the artist-figure itself. There is the possibility of infinite variety in the treatment of the hero. He may, for instance, as has already been indicated, be a historically real artist or, on the other hand, an entirely fictitious creation. Of these two types, the historical seems to have been by far the more popular in the 19th century. In the case of the fictitious artist-

hero, his popularity appears to reach its climax in Romantic times, to wane after 1830, during the years when fidelity to reality was valued highly, increasing then again in the last decade of the century when fantasy was enjoying renewed favour.

Apart altogether from the type of artist chosen as the dramatic hero, the treatment which he receives varies greatly, two main tendencies being readily distinguishable. Some artist-heroes are presented in a purely superficial manner and from an external point of view; others, on the other hand, are treated with clear insight into the real meaning of their life and work. Many are the instances in which the dramatist, while choosing an artist as his central character, does not take any account of the fact that he is an artist and in that respect different from other men, but treats him merely as the hero of an intrigue in which the plot is all-important. Such heroes are artists in name alone, and might as well be tradesmen for all the importance which is attributed to their real vocation. Dramas in which the artist is presented thus occur predominantly before 1830, these dramas being for the most part light-hearted farces or intrigues whose sole merit lies in their external elements. A slightly less

superficial type of artist-drama which is also found mainly in the early years of the century but which continues to appear thereafter from time to time, bears the following distinctive features. Plot is emphasised above all; importance is however attributed in some measure to the fact that the hero is an artist and elements of artistic criticism may form the material of discussion.

While some artist-dramas scarcely merit the name, their heroes being presented for the most part as completely normal men, others treat the artist as the centre of the dramatic interest, emphasising his unusual type of work⁽¹⁾

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- (1) The creative work of the artist-hero is generally presented indirectly in the framework of the drama, its actual representation on a stage involving difficulties of a technical nature. None the less, some artist-heroes are shown in the very act of creation - for instance, the hero of S.Wiese's Beethoven (Drama in drei Acten. In Drei Dramen. Leipzig, 1836). For an argument concerning a parallel case in the 18th century, see the article by E.M. Wilkinson in Publications of the English Goethe Society. New Series, vol.XV. Cardiff, 1946. p.96: 'Goethe's 'Tasso'. The Tragedy of a Creative Artist.'

and unique nature. Far from concentrating on the purely external features of plot and character, many dramatists take as their subject-matter the inner value and psychological significance of the artist, treating his life, work, nature and problems in a great variety of aspects.

The dramatist who emphasises the psychologically interesting aspects of the artist and his work has obviously a unique opportunity of identifying himself with his hero, and of expressing through him his own emotions and opinions as an artist. The artist-drama is from this point of view a peculiarly subjective form. The close connection between hero and dramatist, especially as regards their respective views on art and the artist's life, is seen for instance in the case of the great precursor of the 19th-century German artist-drama - Tasso. The hero of this drama clearly reflects Goethe's ^{own} attitude to the life, nature and tragedy of the artist, and in many later cases one is deeply conscious of this personal, subjective participation by the dramatist in the fate of his artist-character.

In the various dramas of the 19th century in which the artist is presented, it is noticeable that different

aspects of his life and work constantly come into prominence. Some of these aspects - the artist's attitude to his own art, for instance, - recur repeatedly, while within the aspects themselves a frequent shifting of emphasis from one problem to another may be observed. Considering the close bond between dramatist and artist-hero, any definite trend distinguishable in these variations in the presentation of the artist may reflect to a certain extent the aesthetic tendencies of the period in which the dramas were written. The following study aims at exposing the various aspects of the artist's personality and life which occur most frequently in the artist-dramas. An attempt will then be made to distinguish any significant trend in the presentation of the artist-hero and to discover whether this corresponds to the general contemporary attitude to art and the artist.

The 19th-century artist-dramas vary greatly not only as far as depth of treatment is concerned but also from the point of view of literary value. Many, written by minor dramatists, are practically devoid of artistic merit, this being the case particularly among those intrigues and farces in which the deeper significance of

art and the artist is ignored, or where contemporary allusion is emphasised at the expense of thought. In this thesis the minor dramas will therefore be used largely as secondary evidence to supplement the conclusions derived from the dramas in which the artist-hero is treated with greater insight - dramas such as Grillparzer's Sappho, Hebbel's sketch Der Dichter, Hofmannsthal's Der Tor und der Tod and Hauptmann's Die versunkene Glocke.
(1)

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- (1) Owing to the necessity throughout the thesis of repeatedly referring to individual dramas, full bibliographical details are given only on the first mention of a drama. Thereafter, its title and date of publication are quoted on its first mention within each chapter or chapter-section (as in Chapter II). In the case of Sappho, Der Dichter, Der Tor und der Tod and Die versunkene Glocke, merely the titles are quoted after the first complete reference.

Throughout the text the following abbreviations are used:

- | | |
|----------------|--|
| <u>D.S.</u> | : <u>Deutsche Schaubühne seit Lessing und Schröder bis auf die neueste Zeit.</u> |
| <u>Dr.W.</u> | : <u>Dramatische Werke.</u> |
| <u>G.dr.W.</u> | : <u>Gesammelte dramatische Werke¹/₂</u> |

<u>G.W.</u>	: <u>Gesammelte Werke.</u>
<u>N.d.S.</u>	: <u>Neueste deutsche Schaubühne.</u>
<u>S.dr.W.</u>	: <u>Sämmtliche dramatische Werke.</u>
<u>S.W.</u>	: <u>Sämmtliche Werke.</u>
<u>Th.Quod.</u>	: <u>Theatralisches Quodlibet oder sämmtliche dramatische Beyträge für die Leopoldstädter Schaubühne.</u>

Throughout the text and the Appendix reference to Christian Gottlob Kayser's Index locupletissimus librorum : Vollständiges Bücher-Lexicon (Leipzig, 1834 - 1911) is made by using the letters V.B.

CHAPTER II.THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE ARTIST-HERO AND SOCIETY.(A): THE ARTIST'S RECEPTION IN THE WORLD OF NORMAL MEN.

The fact that, in both his work and his life, an artist is to a varying extent in contact with his fellowmen exposes him to widely differing treatment at their hands. He is surrounded by men who are for the most part non-artists, and who therefore do not judge him and his work from an experienced point of view. He may be acclaimed as a genius and fêted and adored on all sides. At the other extreme, he may be considered mad and his work worthless. In the 19th-century German artist-drama, the uncertainty and variety of the artist's fortunes at the hands of his fellowmen is made abundantly clear, the problem of their relationship being treated in all manner of lights. In every case, the attitude of normal men towards the artist is determined by the extent of their awareness of his peculiar nature and work. This awareness is presented on a variety of levels, three main aspects receiving particular emphasis in the dramas. In some cases, the artist is shown to be surrounded by ignorant laymen who have not the most

(1)

remote idea of his significance. In others, normal men appear rather more perceptive, and in some dramas the artist moves in a society which is fully conscious of the

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- (1) Abuses which the artist may suffer as a result of the false judgment of society are shown in certain dramas - see, for instance, Friedrich Hebbel: Der Dichter (1843-1863). In S.W. Historisch-kritische Ausgabe besorgt von Richard Maria Werner. Berlin, 1904. Abt. I, V.) and Michel Angelo (Ein Drama in zwei Acten. 1855. In S.W. ed.cit. Abt. I, III); Gerhart Hauptmann: Die versunkene Glocke (Ein deutsches Märchendrama in fünf Akten. Berlin, 1897); Otto von der Pfordten: Michel-Angelo (Historisches Genrebild in einem Aufzuge. Heidelberg, 1898). In Richard von Meerheimb's Shakespeare's Beichte in der Westminster-Abtey (Visionäres Monodram. In Monodramen neuer Form. Dresden, 1879), the uncertainty of fame is thus described:

' Das Ewiggrosse ist namenlos ewiglich:
'Der des Ruhmes Werthe verklingt ungenannt,
'Dem des Ruhmes Unwerthen
'Läutet die Ruhmesglocke:' (stanza 19).

value and conditions of his work and which shows him every possible consideration. This awareness of the artist's nature on the part of normal men presents in the artist-dramas a changing pattern - a pattern which merits close study.

In the artist-dramas, and in particular in those published in the early years of the 19th century, are many examples of normal men who are totally ignorant, not only of the meaning and standard of art, but also of the deeper nature of the artist himself. To these men, art means often no more than a mere trade or profession, and they expect the rules of behaviour in the world of the artist to be the same as those in any other sphere. Artists, regarded in this way as ordinary men plying their trade, tend in the framework of the drama to lose their identity and become merely the heroes of comedy and intrigue - normal men who, when asked their profession, give the reply 'artist' much as another might answer 'civil servant'. For instance, in
(1)
L.F.Deinhardstein's Salvator Rosa, the artist is merely the

(1) (Lustspiel in zwei Acten. 1821. In Künstlerdramen. Leipzig, 1845. I).

moving force which brings together hero and heroine. If art enters into account at all, it is merely in the guise of an everyday profession and is emphasised only when it plays a definitely utilitarian part in the action - one such case being seen in the drama Shakespeare und
 (1)
Southampton by Georg Hick, where the performance of Macbeth unmasks the betrayer of the royal favourite, Essex.

In the dramas in which art is thus conceived, the criterion of an artist's success in life is not the rendering of great service to an ideal, but the achievement of worldly advancement. Wilhelmine Sostmann
 (2)
 creates a hero in her drama Peter Vischer who, initially merely an apprentice, gives up hope of marrying and is compensated by promotion to the rank of Meister. So too

(1) oder: die letzten Jahre der grossen Königin.

(Historisches Schauspiel in 5 Aufzügen. Leipzig, (1875)).

See also L.F.Deinhardstein: Die rothe Schleife.

(Lustspiel in vier Akten. In G.dr.W. V. Leipzig, 1851).

(2) (Romantisch-dramatisches Gemälde aus der Vorzeit

Nürnberg's, in zwei Abtheilungen. Nürnberg, 1832).

(1)
 in Die Journalisten, a drama by S.Schütze, all
 difficulties are smoothed out when it is discovered
 that one journalist has good connections and prospects.
 (2)
 The hero of G.C.Braun's Der Schmied von Antwerpen is at
 first unsuccessful in his attempt to woo a rich
 merchant's daughter, as she is designed by her father
 (3)
 to marry only a wealthy artist.

A further aspect of this attitude to art and the
 artist is shown in some dramas in which normal men
 rely on purely mechanical, external teaching to make
 artists of their sons. Raphael in C.S.Schier's
 (4)
Raphael Mengs must learn the rudiments of his trade
 just like any other apprentice. He tells of his early
 training, how he was educated in his art by a strict
 father even before he himself felt any inclination for
 it. A related aspect of the blindness of normal men

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- (1) (Lustspiel in einem Aufzuge. 1806. In N.d.S.für 1806.
 VI. Frankfurt und Leipzig).
- (2) (Ein Künstlerdrama in zwey Akten. Nürnberg 1824).
- (3) See also Karl Stein: Die armen Maler. (1819. In
Deutsches Theater. Berlin, 1820); F.A.Gelbcke:
Albrecht Dürers Tod. (Drama in zwei Aufzügen. Leipzig,
 1836).
- (4) oder Die Künstlerliebe. (Drama in drei Acten. Köln,
 1822).

to the real nature of art is found too in G.C.Braun's
 (1) Die Kunstausstellung and in A.W.Griesel's Albrecht Dürer, (2)
 where completely untalented men consider themselves
 equipped as artists if they merely learn to handle the
 media and to talk the technical jargon. Ignorance of the
 significance of the artist is shown in another aspect in
 (3) Apelles, a drama by Friedrich von Heyden, where the hero
 is commissioned by Alexander on a commercial basis to
 paint the portrait of Campaspe. The artist in Kermann
 (4) Kurz's Kunstkennerschaft is employed in a similar way.
 Not only thus are artists' services hired; in some dramas
 (5) their fellowmen use them as teachers.

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- (1) (dramatisch. In Des Leonardo da Vinci Leben und Kunst.
 Halle, 1819).
- (2) (Dramatische Skizze. Prag, 1820).
- (3) (Schauspiel in zwey Aufzügen. In Dramatische Novellen.
 Königsberg, 1819. II).
- (4) (Komödie. 1838. In G.W. Stuttgart, 1874. I).
- (5) An example of this treatment is seen in Ernst von Houwald's
Das Bild (Trauerspiel in fünf Aufzügen. 1819. In S.W. I.
 Leipzig, 1858). Some historical artists are presented in
 the rôle of teachers - both Rafael and Michel Angelo in
 G.C.Braun's Rafael Sanzio von Urbino (Ein dramatisches
 Spiel in 5 Akten. Mainz, 1819) have classes of art-student
 See also Charlotte Birch-Pfeiffer: Rubens in Madrid.
 Original-Schauspiel in fünf Acten. Zürich, 1839.

Such treatment of the artist at the hands of his fellow-men is developed in some situations to emphasise particularly the obtuseness and unawareness of the 'employer'. Having no understanding whatsoever of art, he makes outrageous demands on the artist's talent. While the artist may feel himself thus degraded, he requires financial security and is in no position to rebel. Such is the fate of Juan in Georg Doering's Cervantes,⁽¹⁾ while the artist-hero of Hermann Kurz's Kunstkennerschaft desecrates his art to meet the demands of his patron Florio and obey his every wish - for financial reasons:

'Die Kunst, die edle, geht nach Brod!

'Den Reichen hab' ich sie verdungen:....' (lines 6-8).

In some dramas an indication is given of the type of work which the ignorant employer commissions from the artist. In the case of a portrait, for instance, he demands not a work of art in which the creator will express

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- (1) (Drama in drei Aufzügen. Frankfurt a.M., 1819). Some artist-heroes prove themselves strong enough to resist the temptation of money - Karl Stein's Die armen Maler shows such a case as do L.F.Deinhardstein's Salvator Rosa and Karl Gutzkow's Lorber und Myrte (Lustspiel in vier Aufzügen. 1855. In Dr.W. IXX. Jena, 1872).

his personality, but an exact and photographic representation of the subject. For him, the standard of good art is its fidelity to nature, and the artist who depends upon him for livelihood must comply with his wishes. One such commission is described by Rubens in Charlotte Birch-Pfeiffer's Rubens in Madrid:

'Im Kabinet fand ich die Königin,

'Die selbst entscheiden wollte, ob ich treu

'Die Züge des erhab'nen Gatten traf.' (I, iv).

- 'treu' is the highest epithet that the ignorant layman
(1)
applies to a picture.

While most of the dramas so far mentioned as presenting the blind attitude of normal men towards the

(1) See also Friedrich Kind: Van Dyck's Landleben.

(Malerisches Schauspiel. Leipzig, 1821. - [1818 - M.B.]).

Some employers do however show themselves capable of appreciating a slight deviation from the literal imitation of nature. Hephästion in Friedrich von Heyden's Apelles says of a portrait by the hero:

'Und welch ein Bild! Dein Meisterstück Apelles.

'Diesz ist Kampaspe ganz, - und ists auch nicht.

'Die Gottheit, die hier diese Form durchdrungen,

'Macht wohlbekannte Züge hoch und fremd.' (II).

See also Ernst von Houwald: Das Bild, where it is said of a portrait:

'Es ist zu treu.' (II, iii).

artist sprang from the early years of the 19th century and treated their subject ironically, there is one important example from the late century which shows an original and profound approach to this aspect of their relationship - Gerhart Hauptmann's Die versunkene Glocke. The hero, Heinrich, while his home is still in the valley, is surrounded by ordinary people who clearly have no deep feeling for nor understanding of art. They do not, however, regard art as a trade to be practised for the sake of financial gain. The villagers judge Heinrich's art not from this materialistic standard but from a religious point of view. The more he devoted his talent to the service of God, the higher his work is assessed. He creates, in the opinion of his fellowmen, for the glorification of God rather than for the accumulation of wealth, and for this reason he is revered by them. They are not interested in him or his art from a purely artistic point of view, but only as they appear in relation to religion. The attitude of the villagers towards art is clearly indicated by their representative, The Pfarrer. He is totally unaware of the beauty of the art-world and approaches it only as the place of unwholesome magic, his superstitious fears taking

possession of him:

'...Und ist's der Teufel selbst,
 'der dort sein Nest hat: frisch! und drauf und dran!
 'Wir wollen ihm mit Gottes Wort bestehen;
 'denn selten war des Satans List so hell
 'am Tag, wie diesmal, wo er uns die Glocke,
 'mitsamt dem Glockengieszer, niederwarf:' (I).

The artist, himself, is considered by the villagers to be an ordinary man. He is God's property and, in the moment of his accident, the victim of the Devil. In no way does the artistic significance of Heinrich occur to the Pfarrer. His art too interests him only in terms of its service to God:

'Dort liegt ein Mann, ein Meister, Diener Gottes,
 'begabt mit einer Kunst, zu seiner Ehre
 'und aller Höllenrotten Fluch und Schmach
 'im Reich der Luft zu herrschen.' (I).⁽¹⁾

The Pfarrer emphasises this assessment of Heinrich's value

(1) Compare:

'Im Dienst des Höchsten gosz er seine Glocke.
 'Im Dienst des Höchsten stieg er in die Berge...
 'Im Dienst des Höchsten ist er auch gefallen:' (II)

when, later in the drama, he returns to the mountain to seek him for a second time. He goes not to rescue a great artist but, as a pastor, to save a man from the forces of evil to which he has fallen victim:

'Und hundertmal ist mir die Müh' gelohnt,

'gelingt es mir, als einem guten Hirten,

'mir das verstiegne Lamm zurückzueretten.' (III).

If Heinrich's value in the Pfarrer's eyes lies chiefly in his service to God, his work is esteemed for corresponding reasons. In itself, it holds no interest whatsoever for the Pfarrer. He is concerned with it merely in its religious function, and his lack of artistic appreciation is seen in his condemnation of Heinrich's latest work as soon as he knows it to be dedicated to a pagan God:

'Dies Werk, du groszer Gott! von dem ihr faselt...

'fühlt' Ihr denn nicht: es ist die ärgste Greuel,

'die je 'nes Heiden Kopf sich ausgeheckt!' (III).

A different, though equally blind, view of Heinrich's art and life is presented by his wife Magda. She sees Heinrich, not as an artist, but merely as her husband, a normal man, and ignores his art, obsessed as she is by thoughts of his physical welfare. She is proud with wifely

pride of Heinrich's success in his profession, shows off before her neighbours as the great artist's wife, awaits with eager anticipation the installation of the new bell, but proves herself to be devoid of all feeling for the deeper significance of art⁽¹⁾. Her pride in the bell soon vanishes when she learns that the Meister is in danger, and in that moment of crisis Magda reveals her real attitude to the artist and his masterpiece - complete apathy towards the bell, but passionate anxiety as far as Heinrich's personal safety is concerned:

'Glock' hin, Glock' her! - und blieb der Meister
heil:' (II).

The Pfarrer and Magda, then, as representatives of the society in which Heinrich originally lives, are clear

(1) Magda's pride in the bell is twofold. Like the Pfarrer she greets it as a tribute to God:

'...Gebt acht,
'wenn sie die Stimme heut erhebt
'zum ersten Mal! S' ist wie Gebet und Predigt,
'wie englischer Gesang und Trost und Glück.' (II).

But the bells are most valuable when proclaiming Heinrich's fame:

'sie singen deinen Ruhm von hundert Türmen;
'sie giesen deiner Seele tiefe Schönheit,
'gleichwie aus Bechern, über Gau und Trift.' (II).

examples of ignorance and lack of understanding of art and the artist. The Pfarrer considers art as a function of religion; to Magda it is merely the means of glorification of her husband. For neither does art exist for its own sake.

It does not always appear, however, that the artist-hero finds himself surrounded by an ignorant society, unable to appreciate his special nature. In many dramas which will be seen to predominate about the mid-century - in Realist times - the artist's fellowmen, while totally unaware of the essence of art, are yet somehow conscious that he belongs to a different race of men, that his work is unlike any other job and that he is subject to conditions other than those of normal life. The very fact that this slight consciousness is accompanied by no real understanding of the 'difference' in the artist's nature causes such men in many cases to treat him unsympathetically and more harshly than do those who consider him merely as an ordinary man.

To unsympathetic normal men, the artist appears in a great variety of guises, different aspects of his nature striking different types of men. It is understandable, for instance, that to a man devoid of insight into an artist's work, a life of devotion to art should seem futile, inactive and ineffectual. This aspect of an artist's life is shown in the dramas to strike those men who are themselves active.

It is generally a housewife or a soldier, for instance, who denounces the artist-hero as lazy. Perdicas in Friedrich von Heyden's Apelles speaks thus scathingly of the artist's function:

'Mit Alexander hatt' ich Asiens Herrschaft

'Die neuerrung'ne zu bedenken, - so

'Vergasz ich leicht Dich, - der nur malen kann,

'Was wir gethan.' (I).⁽¹⁾

Anger and hatred are often shown towards the artist by men whom his idleness annoys. Examples of the housewife thus enticed by her husband's apparent laziness are found in Karl Stein's Shakespeares Bestimmung:⁽²⁾

Sara (to Shakespeare):

'Lesen nährt uns nicht und Dichten.

- (1) See also A.W.Iffland: Die Künstler (Ein Schauspiel in fünf Aufzügen. 1803. In N.d.S. I. Augsburg, 1803) where the artist's life is described thus ironically:

'Sie pfeifen, sie singen, mahlen, dichten und jubeln
In lauter Lachen, Spasz und Fröhlichkeit lebt das Volk.'

(I, xi).

- (2) (Schauspiel in einem Aufzuge; in freien Versen. 1819. In Deutsches Theater. Berlin, 1820). See also F.A.Gelbcke Albrecht Dürers Tod.

'Possen schreibst du: Wer bezahlt sie?

'Nur zum Untergange führt

'Dieser Weg den du betreten.' (scene ii).

Some representatives of normal society in the dramas, generally moralists, parents or advisors, go even further in their condemnation of the artist's behaviour, and blame him not only for laziness but for wickedness in wasting time on art when more important things remain undone.

William, the artist-hero of Albert L ndner's William
(1)
Shakspeare is questioned on this account:

'Thust du nicht S nde mit deinem Dichten und Trachten, guter William?' (I, vi).

Some men appear even more extreme in their disapproval of the artist and his life. Strict parents are unable, for instance, to consider the artist as a fit husband for their daughter, in view of his selfish and idle way of life.

Many are the dramas in which a girl's love for the artist-hero is forbidden by her parents on social grounds. In

(2)
Federici's Der Bildhauer und der Blinde the President's son has the misfortune to fall in love with the daughter of Bildhauer Egidio - a match regarded on all sides as

(1) (Ein Schauspiel in drei Abtheilungen. Rudolstadt, [1864]).

(2) (Schauspiel in vier Aufz gen. Berlin, 1819).

quite impossible. Similarly, Beethoven in the drama by Herman Schmid⁽¹⁾ is not considered a worthy match for the girl of his choice, as her parents think him unconventional and therefore socially impossible. In this way, the artist is regarded in many cases as a social blacksheep and generally disapproved.⁽²⁾ Yet a further development of this

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- (1) Beethoven (Volksstück mit Musik, Gesang und Tänzen in vier Abtheilungen. Stuttgart, [1870]).
- (2) For instance, Carl Philipp: Künstler-Glück oder dem Verdienste seine Kronen (Schauspiel in zwei Aufzügen. In D.S. XXXII. Augsburg und Leipzig, [1804]); A von Kotzebue: Der Schauspieler wider Willen (Ein Lustspiel in Einem Akt. In N.d.S. für 1806. II. Frankfurt und Leipzig); G.A.F. Hansing: Der Schauspieler-Katechismus (Ein Lustspiel in einem Aufzuge. 1808. In N.d.S. für 1808. VI. Augsburg); Lember: Der Dichter und der Schauspieler oder das Lustspiel im Lustspiel (Ein Lustspiel in drei Aufzügen. Leipzig, 1813). As a result of this treatment at the hands of their fellowmen many artist-heroes are shown to sink into a state of poverty and degradation which causes a further reputation for depravity. See for instance Karl Stein: Die armen Maler; Friedrich Halm: Camöens (Dramatisches Gedicht in einem Aufzuge. Wien, 1838); Karl von Holtei: Shakspear in der Heimath oder: Die Freunde (Schauspiel in vier Akten. Schleusingen, 1840)

idea of the artist's social impossibility is seen in those dramas where the members of normal, strict society consider the word 'art' to mean debauchery and depravity. The poverty in which the artist appears to live, the hunger and sordidness of his existence, all combine to create in the minds of his fellowmen this unpleasant
(1)
impression.

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- (1) This conception of the artist is seen for instance in F.von Aurländer's Dichterfreundschaft (Ein Lustspiel in einem Aufzuge. In D.S. III. Augsburg und Leipzig, [1811]; L.F.Deinhardstein's Pigault Lebrun (Lustspiel in fünf Acten. Leipzig, 1845); Adolf Wilbrandt's Die Maler (Lustspiel in drei Aufzügen. Wien, 1872). The artist-hero of some dramas is justifiably denounced as vicious and immoral - see for example Ernst von Wildenbruch: Christoph Marlow (Trauerspiel in vier Akten. Berlin, 1884); Gerhart Hauptmann: Kollege Crampton. Komödie in fünf Akten. 1892. In G.W. I. Berlin, 1906) and Michael Kramer (Drama in vier Akten. 1900. In G.W. III. Berlin, 1906). Many are however mistakenly condemned as a result of the prejudice of their fellowmen. Such a one is Rubens in Charlotte Birch-Pfeiffer's Rubens in Madrid, or Shakespeare in Leopold Stein's Des Dichter's Weihe (Dramatisches Bild aus Shakespeare's Jugendleben. In zwei Akten. Frankfurt a.M., 1864).

Another aspect of the artist's personality which is emphasised by some of his fellowmen is his tendency to insanity. Many artist-heroes are shown to be unbalanced, and their unfeeling, unsympathetic acquaintances immediately brand them as insane. To the normal, unimaginative citizen the artist seems to lead a different and incomprehensible life, to have standards and values which bear no relation whatsoever to the material standards of everyday existence. He lives in poverty, is temperamental and works for the sake of creating. While some, as has been said, regard these aspects of an artist's life with scorn, anger or social disapproval, others are inclined to explain the whole phenomenon as merely the product of the artist's madness. In the early drama Fernando, by C.U.Boehlendorff, the artist-

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- (1) See S.Wiese: Beethoven (1836); Friedrich Geszler: Reinhold Lenz (Drama in 3 Akten. In Gesammelte Dichtungen. Lahr, [1899]. II). Also Hugo Müller: Beethoven (A Dramatized Episode from his Life. In one Act. Translated by Gustav Hein. Aberdeen, 1879); Wilhelm von Polenz: Heinrich von Kleist (Trauerspiel. 1891. In G.W. IX. Berlin).
- (2) oder Kunstweihe (Eine dramatische Idylle. Bremen, 1802).

hero accepts the fact that to normal men he will seem 'ein Thor' (I, ii). Byron in Elise Schmidt's Der Genius und die Gesellschaft ⁽¹⁾ is in fact sent towards his ruin by being dubbed a madman by the society in which he lives. Ernst Leonhard in his Tasso's Tod ⁽²⁾ presents an artist who deplures this unthinking attitude:

'Das ist des Dichters oft gepries'nes Loos,
 'Erkannt von Wen'gen und verkannt von Vielen,...
 'Wie eine Gottheit blickt ihn Mancher an,
 'Allein die Meisten sehn in ihm den Narren!' (scene
 ii).

Some artist-heroes are shown to come in contact with men who, while considering them mad, do not blame them for their abnormality but accept it as an inevitable symptom of the artistic temperament. Fornarina in H.Th.Schmid's Rafael ⁽³⁾ regards artists in this way:

'...Sieh', ich weiss es wohl,
 'Ihr Künstler seid besond're Leute; Ihr
 'Seid nicht gemacht dazu, dasz Ihr das Leben,

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- (1) (Trauerspiel. In Drei Dramen. Berlin, 1856).
 (2) (Dramatisches Gedicht. Breslau, 1867).
 (3) (Dramatisches Gedicht in Einem Aufzuge. In Dramatische Schriften. II. Leipzig, 1853). See also I.F.Castelli: Raphael (Lustspiel in Alexandrinern und einem Akt. In Theater. I. Wien, 1845); Leonhart Wohlmuth: Goethe im Elsass (Schauspiel in zwei Aufzügen. Bayreuth, 1871).

'Und was es bringt, in seinen Tagen so

'Gleichförmig ruhig hinlebt, wie das wohl

'Wir andern Menschen können.' (scene ii).

A similarly condescending attitude to the artist's unbalanced outlook - an outlook in this case founded on fact - is seen in Friedrich Geszler's Reinhold Lenz, in which Salzmann says of the hero:

'Verzeihet ihm, oft stürmt sein heller Geist

'Aus des Gemütes friedlichem Gehege,

'Dem Adler gleich, der sich entfesselt hat.' (I,ii)

While normal men are shown thus in some dramas to regard the artist as sinful, depraved or even mad, others again see in him only the comic figure. His abnormality of temperament, his excitement and passions are conceived by many members of society not as symptoms of madness but as humorous features of his character. Many are the dramas which present the artist-hero in such a way as to provoke the mirth not only of the normal men on the stage but also of the audience. His unconventionality, his interest in a subject which is devoid of all practical application, his absentmindedness and his impractical turn of mind - such features of an artist's character which in some dramas are presented as annoying or as symptoms of madness or depravity are in others presented only for the sake of

(1)
their humorous value.

Normal men are thus often shown to be blind as regards the real meaning of art and, feeling in various ways the difference between themselves and the artist, hate him for being different. Many take direct action against him and endeavour to force him into their mould. The artist-hero is often expected by his fellowmen to give up his unworthy career, to become an ordinary man and suppress his madness and unconventionality. They thus interfere with the artist's freedom of behaviour and work and the dramas show many a failure, many a misspent life, many an unexploited talent as a result of this interference. (2)

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- (1) For example Carl Meisl: Die Dichter (Lustspiel in drey Aufzügen. In Th.Quod. VII. Wien, 1824); Georg Harrys: Der reiche Künstler und der arme Millionair (Lustspiel in einem Act. In Taschenbuch dramatischer Blüthen für das Jahr 1825. I. Hamover); A.von Maltitz: Der Korb und die Portraite (Lustspiel in einem Akt. In Dramatische Einfälle. München, 1838); Emanuel Geibel: Meister Andrea (Lustspiel in zwei Aufzügen. Stuttgart und Augsburg, 1855); E.Henle: Aus Göthes lustigen Tagen (Original-Lustspiel in vier Akten. Stuttgart, 1878).

- (2) 'Künstler stört man immer!'

(Friedrich Kind: Van Dyck's Landleben.

Vorspiel. scene ii).

In these dramas in which society is shown to attack the artist and call on him to conform to normal standards, different types of persons, different groups of society constantly recur as critics of his way of life. Not only do the same typical figures recur among the normal men - certain historical artists are presented in many dramas as having the same problem.

Many are the situations in which the various members of the artist-hero's family claim his loyalty rather than allow him to devote himself to his art. The artist's father appears repeatedly as the chief symbol of this encroachment on his singleness of mind. A.W.Iffland's Die Künstler, for instance, is a typical example of this situation - the father here, about to go bankrupt, expects his two artist-stepsons to rally round him and work to help the family resources. An artist who is more than once presented as suffering from the interference of his father⁽¹⁾ is Shakespeare. Leopold Stein's Shakespeare, for instance,

(1) See for instance F.Ferdinand Kieszling: Ein Tag aus Shakespeare's Leben (Schauspiel in 1 Akt. Dresden, [1860?]); Emil Hopffer: Der Wildschütz vom Avon (Lustspiel in fünf Aufzügen. Berlin, 1864); Leopold Stein: Dem Dichter's Weihe.

is addressed thus by his father:

'Muszt lassen die Geselln, die Dich zum Rausch
'Hinreiszen; und Dich für die Pflicht ernüchternd,
'Die, scharf und kalt, gebieterisch herantritt,
'Muszt lassen Du Dein Träumen und Dein Dichten!-'
(1)
(I,i)

Another figure who symbolises in many dramas the
interference of the artist's family is his wife; and in this
situation artists who recur often are again Shakespeare,
(3) (4)
Hans Sachs and Albrecht Dürer. Karl Stein's Shakespeare,

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- (1) Another artist presented in this situation is Hans Sachs, as
for instance in Martin Greif's Hans Sachs (Vaterländisches
Schauspiel in fünf Aufzügen. In Dramen. Leipzig, 1909. I.
- [1894- v.B.]).
- (2) Karl Stein: Shakespeares Bestimmung; Karl Augusting:
Shakespeare (Ein Winternachtstraum. Dramatisches Gedicht.
Wiesbaden, 1864).
- (3) O. Haupt: Hans Sachs (Vaterländisches Schauspiel in fünf
Aufzügen. Posen, 1890).
- (4) F.A. Gelbcke: Albrecht Dürers Tod; Julius Grosse: Meister
Dürers Erdenwallen (Dramatisches Charakterbild in einem
Aufzuge. Berlin, 1871).

having listened to a tirade of reproach from his wife, says:

'Hadre darum mit dem Schöpfer,

'Der für andere Bestimmung,

'Nicht zum Handel, mich gebildet.

'Wollt' ich rechnen, kaufen, zählen?' (scene 11).

Hans Sachs' wife in the drama by O. Haupt nags him for his frivolous hobby:

'Und wo ist der Meister Sachs? - auszer dem Hause beim Wettsingen - und wenn er zu Hause ist, was thut er? er sitzt und sinnt, als wäre er trunken, zählt an den Fingern und schreibt! Das nennt er dichten, ich aber Narretei.' (I, 111).

Possibly the greatest example of an artist whose family interferes with his life is to be found in Gerhart Hauptmann's Die versunkene Glocke. No sooner does Heinrich find the blissful happiness of the fairy-world than voices are heard calling him from the distance. The voices - those of the Pfarrer's search-party - call to him in the name of religion, and above all of duty to wife and family. Later in the drama, too, his children come to take him home, pleading in the name of their dead mother and their own misery. Their claim upon

(1)

Heinrich is irresistible.

Society, however, is not always shown in the dramas to take direct and positive action against the artist; its influence upon him may be more subtle, passive criticism working on the artist's conscience until he feels himself hemmed in by it. This negative interference on the part of society is felt, for instance, by Goethe in Carl Heckel's Friederike von Sesenheim.⁽²⁾ The very contact with town-life and normal men is to him a constraining force:

' Zur Kerkernacht ward mir

'Die Stadt, zur Fessel jedes Band, das dort

'Mich hielt,...' (I, i).

- (1) In some dramas this interference is directed less towards the artist's life than towards his actual work. Rudolf Baron von Gottesheim, in his William Shakespeare (Drama in einem Act. Prag, 1883), presents a hero who is subjected to such treatment:

'Diesz soll ich ändern, streichen, diesz und das,

'Beim Zeus! das kann nicht sein, das wär' ein

Stück

'Für eine Gauklerbühn', ein Stück für Narren -'

(scene iv).

- (2) (Idyllisches Drama in 3 Aufzügen. München, 1880).

Byron, the hero of Elise Schmidt's Der Genius und die Gesellschaft, makes the same complaint:

'Da steh' ich nun allein,...am Meeresrand...Die grünen Wogen kommen herangesaust...Ich gehe unter...Und das Meer ist die Gesellschaft - und ich - wer bin ich? Ein widerwärtig Gebundener!' (I, iv).

The clearest example of an artist thus affected by the passive criticism of his fellowmen is found in Hebbel's sketch Der Dichter.⁽¹⁾ The hero, a genius who has created a work of art, is unable to give it the start in the world which it needs. He must rather think of his wife and children, and realising his duty to them he sacrifices

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- (1) See also Karl von Holtei: Lorbeerbaum und Bettelstab oder: Drei Winter eines deutschen Dichters (Schauspiel in drei Akten. In Theater. Breslau, 1845. Schleusingen, 1840-V.B.)
Ludwig van Beethoven (Ein dramatisches Charakterbild in vier Aufzügen. von einem Banner. Leipzig, 1870); S.H. Mosenthal: Ein deutsches Dichterleben (Schauspiel in fünf Aufzügen. In G.W. Stuttgart und Leipzig, 1878. III);
 Rudolf Baron von Gottesheim: William Shakespeare.
 Hebbel's Michel Angelo presents in this respect a complete contrast to the hero of Der Dichter.

his fame for their sakes. He gives up all claim to his work, devotes himself to his family and is recognised only after his death.

Another frequent source of interference in an artist's life is seen to be the girl he loves. The artist-hero must, in many cases, choose between her and the pursuit of his art - both being strong influences in his life.

Wilhelmine Sostmann **presents** in her drama Peter Vischer a hero who, engaged to Sebalda, renounces a trip to Italy which meant everything to his art. Heinrich Laube's Die
 (1)
Karlsschüler shows another situation of this kind and in
 (2)
Das Lebensende Rafael Sanzio's Friedrich Maschek creates a hero who dies of the internal struggle.

It sometimes happens in an artist-drama that the normal man does come to have a respect and understanding for the artist's value, but not until it is too late for him to show his appreciation. The artist repeatedly appears unrecognised during his lifetime and only in the hour of death, or even after it, is he rewarded for his work. Posthumous recognition appears as an important theme in many

(1) (1846. In G.W. XXV. Leipzig, 1909).

(2) (Dramatische Scenen. Reichenberg, 1887).

dramas. F.von Kar~~l~~ander's Dichterfreundschaft expresses this thought in the following passage:

'Die armen Poeten, sie haben doch sehr unrecht, sich so zu quälen, um erst nahh ihrem Tode zu leben; denn bevor sie nicht begraben sind, bekümmert man sich nicht um sie, dann erst, wenn sie von Gips oder Stein auf einem Kasten stehen, verehrt man sie.' (scene vii).

The hero of F.Ferdinand Kieszling's Ein Tag aus Shakespeare's Leben expresses a similar conception of the artist's fate:

'Lorbeer flicht man um Totenschädel nur.' (scene v).

An artist who is more than once shown in the dramas to receive recognition in the hour of death is Tasso. ⁽¹⁾ Many however receive it only after death. One such unrecognised artist is the hero of Hebbel's Der Dichter. His case is unusual however in that, as has already been seen, he himself chooses to remain unknown during his lifetime and indeed gives no thought to posthumous fame. He does

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- (1) J.Ch.Freiherr von Zedlitz: Kerker und Krone (Schauspiel in fünf Aufzügen. 1833. In Dr.W. Stuttgart, 1860. II); J.D. Hoffmann: Tasso's Tod (Trauerspiel in fünf Aufzügen. Leipzig, 1834); Ernst Raupach: Tasso's Tod (Trauerspiel in fünf Aufzügen. In Dramatische Werke ernster Gattung. Hamburg, 1835. IV).

Eventually receive recognition at the hands of his rival:

'Der Dichter stirbt: nun legt er ihm den Lorbeer auf den Sarg und fügt hinzu: 'ich verzeihe auch mir, denn nun ist der Beweis da, dass er als Mensch und Poet
(1)
gleich gross war.' (section 4).

Among the dramas are a great number of cases in which members of normal society appear to realise the different nature of the artist and to admire and appreciate his work, valuing art as the highest expression of human activity. These dramas will be seen to appear predominantly both in Romantic times and again in the late years of the century. In all such dramas the artist is a real hero and not merely a useful acting character. Far from being ridiculed and tormented by his fellowmen, he is envied by them for his great power of creation. In J.D.Hoffmann's Tasso's Tod, for instance, the hero is

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- (1) See also Albert Lindner: Dante Alighieri (Dramatisches Gedicht in drei Abtheilungen. Jena, 1855); Karl Sondershausen: Da Ponte (In Der Letzte aus Altweimar. Erinnerungen und Dichtungen. Weimar, 1859. III); Julius Grosse: Meister Dürers Erdenwallen; Wilhelm von Warteneck: Mozart (Festspiel zur hundertjährigen Todtenfeier. Wien, 1893).

envied by the normal man for his ability to express what is generally inexpressible:

'...-Wenn das Leben,

'Der ew'ge Widerspruch uns irr gemacht;

'Dann ist nichts so erfreulich, als der Einklang,

'Der aus des Dichters Worten tönt. Er darf

'Ihn pflegen in der treuen Brust, ihm ist

'Die Welt vollkommen, jeder Widerspruch

'Ist ausgeglichen;...' (II, i).

(1)

In Theodor Goldammer's Petrarca und Laura, too, the layman Hugo envies Petrarca his power of expression, while Friederike in the drama Goethe im Elsass, by Leonhart Wohlmuth thus defends the artist's profession:

'Lästere nicht Deinen Beruf, den Dir ein Höherer gestellt hat als ich und selbst als alle Groszen ^{und Höheren} auf der Erde.' (II, viii).

A similar attitude is seen in Laube's Die Karlsschüler. Apart from being appreciative of the artist himself, many

(1) (Schauspiel in 5 Akten. Berlin, 1858). See also Carl Heckel: Friederike von Sesenheim:

'Erstaunt habt seinen Worten ihr gelauscht;

'Was ahnend wir empfinden, er spricht's aus,....'

(I, iii).

normal men are shown in the dramas to admire the
 individual works of art which he creates. Praise is
 lavished upon the artist in all those dramas in which
 some occasion of his life is commemorated. Another aspect
 of the adoration of the artist is seen in the numerous
 dramas which present the theme of patronage. The state
 admires and acknowledges with pride its responsibility
 towards the artist in, for example, F.W.Ziegler's
Benvenuto Cellini or I.F.Castelli's Raphael. The Fürst in
 the latter drama says:

'Wenn wir, die Herrn der Welt, die Künstler nicht
 beschützen,

'Wer möchte dann wohl gern auf dem Parnasze sitzen'

(scene ii).

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- (1) For examples see Wilhelmine Sostmann: Peter Vischer;
 G.C.Braun: Der Schmied von Antwerpen.
- (2) For instance, Justus Frey: Goethe's Genesung. (1823. In
Gesammelte Dichtungen. Prag, 1899); Heinrich Stieglitz:
Mozarts Gedächtniszfeier (Gedicht. München, 1837); Emil
 Hopffer: Der Wildschütz vom Avon.
- (3) oder Das Bild der Porzia. (Ein Lustspiel in vier Acten.
 In S.dr.W. Wien, 1824. IX).

Another example of patronage is found in L.F. Deinhardstein's
(1)
Fürst und Dichter:

'Es kann der Fürst nicht Künstler schaffen, doch

'Verbinden kann er sie und sie erhalten,

'Das haben alle Zeiten uns erwiesen,

'Der Medici, Elisabeth und Este,...' (II, x).

Golttdammer's Petrarca, too, is favoured by the society in which he lives and receives a crown in the name of France and Italy. Shakespeare, in the drama by Wilhelm Schäfer, (2) is protected by various members of the English court - the Queen herself, Southampton, Essex, Herbert.

An outstanding example of the public's unanimous acclamation of an artist is to be found in Grillparzer's (3) Sappho. The entire society in which Sappho moves is

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- (1) (Dramatisches Gedicht in vier Akten. In G.dr.W. V. Leipzig, 1851).
- (2) Wilhelm Shakespeare (Schauspiel aus der Renaissancezeit England's in drei Aufzügen. Zürich, 1900). See also Emil Hildebrand: Ein gefangener Dichter (Lustspiel in 1 Akt. Landsberg a.W., [1850]); a society devoted to the cultivation of art and the protection of the artist is seen too in Wagner's Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg (Mainz, 1862)
- (3) (Trauerspiel in fünf Aufzügen. Wien, 1819). The text used for quotation throughout is that of Grillparzers Werke (Im Auftrage der Reichshaupt- und Residenzstadt Wien. herausgegeben von August Sauer. Wien und Leipzig, 1909. I).

devoted to her. She occupies an unassailable position above the heads of the common herd, out of reach of her fellows and worshipped by them. The background to the dramatic action is formed, to a great extent, by the jubilations of the crowd. The stage directions for the raising of the curtain at the beginning of Act 1 are:

Zimbeßn und Flöten und verworrener Volkszuruf in der Ferne..

The first words spoken are an exhortation by Rhamnes that all should join in acclaiming the great artist:

'Auf, auf vom weichen Schlaf! Sie kommt, sie
naht!...

'Heraus ihr faulen Mädchen! Zögert ihr?..

'...Sappho naht!'

Geschrei (von innen):

'Heil, Sappho, Heil!'

Rhamnes:

'Ja wohl, Heil Sappho, Heil! Du braves Volk!'

(I, 1).

Rhamnes narrates proudly Sappho's triumphant career. He looks up to her as to a goddess, praising her, rejoicing in her success and exhorting the others to do her honour. To this conception of Sappho Rhamnes remains faithful throughout the drama, and at the end of her life he still

regards her with adoration, mixed though it be with awe. When Sappho herself appears, one is instantly aware that she is accustomed to adulation and that she regards herself as a goddess among men. She is robed in a striking manner, speaks in a majestic tone and, while striving to establish a link between herself and her fellowmen, merely emphasises the gulf which separates them. The crowd is never tired of singing hymns in praise of her:

'Wohl uns, dasz wir Dich, Hohe, unser nennen!...'

(I, ii).

Rhamnes punctuates the proceedings with expressions of his own personal worship:

'Sei mir gegrüsst, gegrüsst, Du Herrliche!' (I, ii)

Phaon too, when he enters, shows an almost religious adoration of her. There is a clear gulf in Phaon's mind between Sappho and himself. 'Erhabne Frau!' he calls her (I, iii) and indeed he is deeply conscious of the favour which she is bestowing upon him in associating with him at all:

'Wie kann ich so viel Güte je bezahlen?

'Stets wachsend fast erdrückt mich meine Schuld!'

(I, iii).

The normal men in this drama are clearly unanimous in their

adoring attitude to the artist in their midst.

The layman can give proof of his admiration for an artist by granting him immortality and the theme of immortality appears in a number of artist-dramas in all manner of aspects. Some men are shown to consider the practice of art as itself presupposing immortality for the artist:

'Cäsar hat für Rom gesieget.

'Wo ist Roma's Glanz geblieben?

'Aber Cäsar hat geschrieben,

'Cäsar lebt, wenn Rom erliegt -' (Karl Stein:

Shakespeares Bestimmung. scene i).

Similarly Leonhart Wohlmuth's Friederike is completely confident of the posthumous glory which will attach itself to Goethe's name:

'Wie ich hier zu Deinen Füßzen saz und Deinen holden Liedern lauschte, so wird später Dein Vaterland zu Deinen Füßzen fuhen und Deinen begeisterten Worten lauschen.'

(1)
(Göthe im Elsass. II, viii).

In some cases the normal man seems to anticipate immortality not so much for the artist's work as for his human personality.

'Die Welt wird vielleicht noch nach Jahrhunderten

(1) See also Heinrich Laube: Die Karlsschüler (IV, v).

auf Euch selbst anwenden, was Ihr Hamlet sagen laszt: 'Wir werden nimmer seines Gleichen sehn.' -

(1)

such is the belief of the Queen in H.Dorn's Im Globus (V, viii). In similar fashion, Correggio in F.W. Ziegler's Benvenuto Cellini encourages the artist with the words:

'Die Nachwelt wird gewisz Deinen und meinen "ahnen mit Ehrfurcht und Bewunderung nennen.' (III, iii).

One development of this attitude towards the artist may be seen in those dramas in which the promise of immortality is extended beyond his person to the subject of his art. In Grillparzer's Sappho, for instance, Rhamnes recognises that the artist's fame will be shared by Phaon, the inspiration of her art:

'In fernen Zeiten unter fremden Menschen...

'Wird Sapphos Lied noch von den Lippen tönen,

'Wird leben noch ihr Name - und der deine!' (V, iv)

In like manner, Laura in Theodor Goltz's Petrarca und Laura reaps fame as the subject of the poet's art.

In many cases, the theme of immortality is presented in

(1) (Historisches Lustspiel in 5 Aufzügen. Berlin, 1853).

(1)
its symbolic, outward form - the laurel wreath. It is thus seen in Grillparzer's Sappho; and indeed the wreath acts as a thread which runs through the entire drama. Sappho's

- (1) The manner of accepting the wreath varies in the dramas. For instance, to some artists it is a welcome honour, (see C.S.Schier: Palestrina (Künstlerdrama in 2 Akten. Köln, 1825); L.F.Deinhardstein: Stradella (Drama in drei Akten. In G.dr.W. IV. Leipzig, 1850); Wilhelm von Chezy: Petrarca (Künstler-Drama in fünf Akten. Bayreuth, 1832); Carl Scholl: Die Beethoven-Feier in Zürich am 16. Dezember 1853 (Dramatischer Prolog); Theodor Goltzdammer: Petrarca und Laura; Georg Zimmermann: Theodor Körner (Historisches Drama in drei Akten. Darmstadt, 1863); O.Haupt: Hans Sachs; Gustav Burchard: Hans Sachs (Ein dramatisches Spiel in einem Aufzuge. Berlin, 1894); Rudolph Genée: Hans Sachs (Ein Festspiel. Berlin, 1894); Edwin Bormann: Der Kampf um Shakespeare (Humoristisches Märchendrama in einem Akte. Leipzig, 1897). Other heroes consider a laurel-wreath a mixed blessing (see F.W.Gubitz: Sappho (Melodrama. In Schriften. II. Berlin, 1816); Carl Meisl: Orpheus und Euridice oder So geht es im Olymp zu! (Eine mythologische Parrikatur in zwey Akten. In Th.Quod. II. Pesth, 1820); Eduard von Schenk: Albrecht Dürer in Venedig (Lustspiel in einem Aufzug. In Schauspiele. II. Stuttgart und Tübingen, 1833).

first arrival, following close on the actual crowning ceremony, necessitates a full account of the occasion. She wears her crown proudly and thanks her admirers for the honour done her:

'Dank Freunde, Landsgenossen Dank.

'Um eurethwillen freut mich dieser Kranz...' (I,11)

The wreath appears later to Sappho as the symbol of her empty life of devotion to art:

'Umsonst nicht hat zum Schmuck der Musen Chor

'Den unfruchtbaren Lorbeer sich erwählt,

'Kalt, frucht- und duftlos drückt er das Haupt

'Dem er Ersatz versprach für manches Opfer.'

(I, 111).

Her final appearance shows Sappho once again reconciled to her laurel-wreath. It is on her head as a sign that she realises the necessity for the 'Opfer' of which she spoke, as a sign that she is prepared to renounce life in favour of art. The wreath thus reflects the changes in Sappho's own attitude to her fame.

It has been seen that in the dramas whose hero is misunderstood by his fellows, his abnormality may be explained in terms of madness or depravity. The artist, surrounded by a well-disposed society, however, may be considered abnormal and different, but for other reasons.

Far from being inferior to other men, the artist is in many cases shown to belong to a superior race. Instead of dubbing him a madman, his fellows acknowledge the superiority of his unconventional way of life over their humdrum, drab existence; his abnormality is admired as well as excused. Leonora in Ernst Raupach's Tasso's Tod, for instance, speaks thus indulgently of the artist, echoing the words of Rhamnes at the end of Grillparzer's Sappho:

'Die Erd' ist eben seine Heimath nicht.' (III, 1).

Members of normal society who are thus sympathetic towards the artist's abnormal nature appear in many dramas to give him whatever freedom he may wish. They understand his peculiar requirements and realise that he is merely fulfilling the demands of his calling when he claims complete liberty of action. Consequently they do not wish to limit him in any way nor force him to conform to everyday standards. Southampton, Shakespeare's patron in Albert Lindner's William Shakspeare, speaks thus:

'Dichter sind Kinder, die keine Zeit haben, die Wirthschaft auf Erden zu lernen, weil sie bei den Göttern spielen müssen im Himmelssaal.' (III, viii).

The word 'Kinder' reflects the indulgence which is accorded to the artist in this particular drama.

'Ach, Fräulein, mit Dichtern musz man es nicht so genau nehmen' -

so says Müller in Wilhelm von Polenz's Heinrich von Kleist, (II, iii); and F.A.Gelbcke in the drama Albrecht Dürers Tod emphasises the need for gentleness in handling artists:

Schäuflein:

'Nackt liegt des Künstlers Herz dem Leben da,

'Und es erfordert eine zarte Hand,

'Es wohl zu pflegen.' (I, v).

In Carl Stein's Shakespeares Bestimmung, Green thus advises the poet's wife:

'Möchtet ihr ihn ganz verstehen,

'Mitleid müsztet ihr ihm weihen.' (scene v),

a similar thought being expressed elsewhere:

'Der Künstler Launen musz man willig übertragen;'

(I.F.Castelli: Raphael. scene ii).

There are among the dramas many examples of artists who are only too desirous of following their own bent and ignoring their human responsibilities. When presented in the midst of a sympathetic, indulgent society, these artists are not criticised for their attitude, but are approved. Indulgent patrons demand that freedom be accorded to them. The artist must be allowed to develop his talent as he wishes - freedom is his right - whether freedom from political interference or from the constraining bonds of human duty:

'Er war zu frei, um wie die Anderen

'Die Fesseln alter Formen nachzuschleppen;

'Er war zu kühn, um nicht mit Riesenkraft

'Sie abzuschütteln, zu zerspringen sie;

'Er war zu groß, um andere Gesetze

'Zu kennen, als die er sich selber gab!'

(1)
(Carl Schöhl: Die Beethoven-Feier in Zürich).

Further, the normal man is often shown encouraging the artist to abandon home and family and advancing him on the road to complete devotion to art. In these cases in which the artist-hero is himself content to be bound and limited by the world, his far-seeing advisors take positive action to preserve his freedom, and often undertake to persuade him even against his own will to break away. One presentation of this situation which frequently occurs shows the artist's beloved as the central figure. Realising that her love is hindering his career, she voluntarily renounces all claim to him and sacrifices herself for his sake. In other cases, a friend, more perspicacious than the artist himself and

(1) See also Carl Meisl: Die Dichter; F.Ferdinand Kieszling: Ein Tag aus Shakespeare's Leben; Ludwig van Beethoven von einem Bonner.

aware of the danger which threatens his career, advises him strongly to give up the duties of normal life and devote himself to art alone. Thus the Kaiser in L.F. Deinhardstein's

(1)

Hans Sachs says to Hans:

'Du bist nicht glücklich in der Liebe, Sachs.

'D'rum höre meinen Rath: gib du sie auf!

'Ich biethe dir ein ruhig Leben an,

'Dasz du mit Musze pflegen kannst der Kunst;'
(2)
(IV, iii).

Karl von Holtei shows the artist, in Shakspear in der

(1) (Dramatisches Gedicht in vier Acten. Wien, 1829).

(2) Examples of the girl's sacrifice are to be found in S. Wiese's Beethoven; Heinrich Laube's Die Karlsschüler; Leonhart Wohlmuth's Göthe im Elsass. In the drama by Laube, Laura is shown refusing to flee with Schiller for this reason:

'Du sollst nicht erniedrigt werden um meinetwillen. Du sollst mich nicht überschätzen, ich bin ein unbedeutend Kind neben dir. Du sollst nicht gehindert werden in deiner Laufbahn durch - deine Laura.' (V, ii).

The friend's advice is seen in Friedrich Kind's Van Dyck's Landleben and Carl Heckel's Friederike von Sesenheim.

Heimath, leaving his responsibilities behind and finding immediate favour and patronage at Court. In Richard Dehmel's Der Mitmensch,⁽¹⁾ the normal man despises men like himself and deplores the power of human ties - and particularly of love - to interfere in the all-important work of an artist:

'Und weil ich nicht ertragen will, dasz dies Weib dich entzwei macht! mit ihrer Gier! und ihrer Schlaffheit! Weil du mir zu schade bist zu ihrem Spielzeug! Weil du Du bleiben sollst: dein Herr! kein Pudel deiner Kinder und Dienstboten werden...Weil du Allen gehörs! Weil Zukunft in dir ist! Weil du Andres kannst, als Bastarde machen...und dir Edleres blüht als so'n Frauenzimmer!..
(2)
Leute wie Ish sind zum Heiraten gut!' (I).

Grillparzer's Sappho affords probably the most obvious example of the artist exempted by society from normal duties. She is regarded by her fellowmen, represented by

(1) (Tragikomödie. 1895. In G.W. III. Berlin, 1916).

(2) In the same vein, The normal man speaks to the woman whose love interferes with the artist's career:

'Sie wünschen nur, geliebt zu werden! - Glauben Sie, das kann ein Künstler Ihnen biethen?...Nein, mein Fräulein: solch ein Mensch, der lässt sich nicht besitzen! Der geht, wie seine Phantasie ihn treibt! Und man lässt ihn gehen! Sonst geht er zugrunde.' (II).

Phaon, Melitta and Rhamnes, as a goddess, a ruler, and therefore to be tended, worshipped and indulged in every way. Sappho, however, does not wish this exemption from normal, human life. Her greatest desire is to live the life of an ordinary woman, to share in the experiences and suffering of the world and above all to be loved by Phaon. Her first appearance in the drama emphasises this point - she tries consciously to lower herself to the same level as the people, while they themselves delight to adore her from afar and to treat her as a superior. In the same way, she introduces Phaon as her equal and theirs, and expresses her intention to renounce the free life of art and restrict herself to domestic life with him:

'Er war bestimmt, in seiner Gaben Fülle,

'Mich von der Dichtkunst wolken nahen Gipfeln

'In dieses Lebens heitre Blüten-Täler

'Mit sanft bezwingender Gewalt herabzuziehn.'

(I, ii).

Sappho scorns the flattery of Phaon, yearning only to be treated as a normal woman.

'Du schmeichelst süsz, doch, Lieber, schmeichelst
du!' (I, iii),

she says, where another, more pleased with flattery, would have answered:

'Du schmeichelst, Lieber, doch, du schmeichelst
süsz!'

Phaon, regarding her as so much above himself, addresses Sappho as 'Erhabne Frau', but Sappho pathetically tries to break down the barrier between them:

' Nicht so!

'Sagt dir dein Herz denn keinen süßern Namen?'

(I, iii).

She even envies those who, like Phaon, have lived all their lives as simple people, gifted physically rather than mentally:

'Und leben ist ja doch des Lebens höchstes Ziel!'

(I, iii).

Sappho's wish to be a normal woman would have been approved in a harsh, artist-hating society. She would have renounced the mad, unwomanly career of art and become an ordinary human being. The society against whose background Sappho lives and works, however, has a fixed attitude towards artists and believes that they are far superior to normal men. Such a society cannot understand or approve of an artist who breaks out of her own sphere of life. This unsurmountable barrier of general opinion Sappho soon encounters, and she realises then her great mistake:

'O Törrin! warum stieg ich von den Höhen,

'Die Lorbeer krönt, wo Aganippe rauscht,

'Mit Sternenklang sich Musenchöre gatten,
 'Hernieder in das engbegrenzte Tal
 'Wo Armut herrscht und Treubruch und Verbrechen?
 'Dort oben war mein Platz, dort an den Wolken,
 'Hier ist kein Ort für mich, als nur das Grab.'

(III, ii).

Finally, then, Sappho must accept as inevitable the gulf which society sees between herself and her normal fellows. She has only one duty in life - to devote herself entirely to her art, exempted as she is by common consent from all human responsibility.

A variation on this theme - the artist's exemption from normal human duty - is provided by Hugo von Hofmannsthal's ⁽¹⁾ Der Tor und der Tod. From the beginning of his career as a dilettante artist, the hero, Claudio, has been allowed to do exactly as he thought best. This apparent indulgence on the part of the ordinary society is not however due to their understanding of his needs as an artist and their adoration of him - as is the case with Grillparzer's Sappho - but rather to their complete indifference to him. At the very outset, Claudio appears discontented. He regrets the lack of human contact in his past life - regrets that he has been allowed such freedom from worldly cares and

(1) (1893. In Die Gedichte und kleinen Dramen. Leipzig, 1930).

relationships. His first speech is one of yearning for the companionship and hard labour of normal life:

'Wie nah sind meiner Sehnsucht die gerückt,

'Die dort auf weiten Halden einsam wohnen

'Und denen Güter, mit der Hand gepflückt,

'Die gute Mattigkeit der Glieder lohnen...

'So seh ich Sinn und Segen fern gebreitet

'Und starre voller Sehnsucht stets hinüber,...'

Claudio looks with envy at the lighted windows, each of which could tell a tale of family happiness or tragedy. He contrasts his own life:

'....ich habe Trösten nie gelernt.'

The climax of his speech is reached when he expresses thus his extreme loneliness:

'Was weisz denn ich vom Menschenleben?

'Bin freilich scheinbar drin gestanden,

'Aber ich hab es höchstens verstanden,

'Konnte mich nie darein verweben.'

This discontent of Claudio is bound to remind one of Sappho. Like her, Claudio regrets the futility of his past life of devotion to art alone. Like her, he suddenly desires only to be an ordinary man. That there is a difference between the two cases is however apparent, and the difference lies in the natures of the two artists, in their art, and in society's reason for exempting them

from normal obligations. Whereas Sappho lived and worked among her fellowmen, allowing them to share in her art and her triumph, Claudio's art is, like his nature, remote, selfish, unemotional. With this outlook on the world, it is not to be wondered at that Claudio, unlike Sappho, does not attract the affection of his fellowmen. Sappho, moving as a queen among her islanders, is adored and worshipped by them, and just because they reverence her thus, they wish her to be left undisturbed by human troubles. Claudio however says of himself:

'In müdem Hochmut hegend, in Entsagen

'Tief eingesponnen leb ich ohne Klagen

'In diesen Stuben, dieser Stadt dahin.

'Die Leute haben sich entwöhnt zu fragen

'Und finden, dasz ich recht gewöhnlich bin.' (ed.cit.

p. 117).

Living the life of a hermit, he soon becomes totally ignored by his fellowmen. Even his relations - mother, sweetheart, friend - are in no way deeply concerned for his welfare. They have become used to his selfish way of life and have gradually lost interest.

(1) See Chapter II, p. 83-85

'Wohl keinem etwas, keiner etwas mir,' (ed.cit.

p.129),

says Claudio of himself, and the three apparitions confirm his words. The mother, self-sacrificing and loving, yet comes to realise that she means nothing to him and gradually grows apathetic towards him; the girl who submits with sorrow to the treatment which Claudio inflicts upon her, scarcely expected more from him. She remembers her sufferings but knows them to be unimportant:

'Ich hab dir nicht geschrieben. Nein. Wozu?

'Was weisz denn ich, wieviel von deinem Herzen

'In all dem war, was meinen armen Sinn

'Mit Glanz und Fieber so erfüllte, dasz

'Ich wie im Traum am lichten Tage ging.

'Aus Untreu macht kein guter Wille Treu,

'Und Tränen machen kein Erstorbnes wach.

'Man stirbt auch nicht daran.' (ed.cit. p.127).

The friend shows his feelings for Claudio in a much more definite way, tells him just how basely he acted and how little he is esteemed:

'Für dieses haszte endlich ich dich so,

'Wie dich mein dunkles Ahnen stets gehaszt,

'Und wich dir aus.' (ed.cit. p.129)

Claudio, then, is surrounded by a society which was

prepared to give him all the freedom which he might want for the development of his talent. He takes advantage of this offer, cuts himself off entirely from the world and cultivates an art which is completely self-centred. Society as a result abandons him completely. Only then does Claudio realise how unfruitful his life has been, and begs to be allowed to start afresh with a new and less selfish outlook. Sappho, on the other hand, finds herself in the midst of an adoring society which relieves her of normal duties, desiring her to work for her art alone. Yet Sappho reaches the same conclusion as Claudio - a life entirely devoted to art is empty and one-sided; human relationships and ties are too valuable to be ignored. Both are allowed in different ways to taste the life which they have come to desire. Their reactions are in no way similar. On the one hand Sappho acknowledges her mistake in attempting to enter normal life as a normal woman; Claudio realises, with full conviction, that his art-life has been valueless and that he should endeavour to live the new life which he has discovered.

(B): THE ARTIST'S BEHAVIOUR IN THE WORLD OF NORMAL MEN.

It has been seen that the reaction of the normal man to his contact with the artist looms large as a problem in the 19th-century artist-dramas. The complementary problem - the artist's behaviour in the world of normal men - receives even greater emphasis at the hands of the dramatists and is presented by them in a variety of lights. In almost every dramatic presentation, the artist's conception of his duty is seen to vary. Some artist-heroes are shown to find no difficulty in reconciling the claims of their two interests; more, however, discover that art and normal life conflict and that they must struggle to balance their rival demands in a fit proportion or, if necessary, to disregard one or other altogether.

The artist-heroes who find no difficulty in being artist and man at the same time are generally those
(1)
represented as mere heroes of intrigue, as teachers of

(1) For instance, the hero in L.F. Deinhardstein's Salvator Rosa (1821).

(1) Art, painters to commission, art-salesmen, and appear mostly in dramas written early in the century. The dramatist presents them living as men in the world, working at their trade, buying and selling, earning money, fulfilling their duty to society. They do not conceive that their art might have a deeper significance, that it might indeed affect and influence their very lives. Thus, in such dramas, no conflict arises in the artist's mind (3) between his art and his normal existence.

There are, however, many dramas in which the hero does realise that art is of more significance than a mere trade, and that it claims his allegiance and thereby interferes with his responsibilities towards his fellowmen. The

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- (1) For instance, the hero of Ernst von Houwald's Das Bild (1819).
- (2) For instance, the hero of Friedrich von Heyden's Apelles (1819).
- (3) While no actual conflict is noticeable in the dramas, it may of course be implicit in the treatment which the hero receives. Thus the shallow acceptance of art is satirised and the artist's serious duty to his vocation emphasised by its very absence in, for example, Carl Meisl's Die Dichter (1824) and G.C.Braun's Der Schmied von Antwerpen (1824).

awareness of such a problem produces different reactions in different artist-heroes. Many - and this attitude is emphasised for the most part about the mid-century - are aware that they are faced with the choice of fulfilling their duty to art or their obligation to life, but do not hesitate to turn their back upon art. Life, they insist, is more valuable than art. One hero who in this way prefers the simple life of an ordinary man to a life dedicated to art is Wilhelmine Sostmann's Peter Vischer:

'...- wohnt das Glück nicht auch in engen Mauern,
'Wo sich der Fleisz und nützlich Wirken regen,
'Wenn nur Zufriedenheit im Herzen wohnt?'

(Peter Vischer (1832), III, iii).

Similarly the heroes of Karl Gutzkow's Lorber und Myrte (1855) and Adolf Stern's Brouwer und Rubens see the value of devoting themselves to human, rather than to artistic

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- (1) (Ein Spiel in zwei Aufzügen. Leipzig, 1861). A later example of this attitude is seen in Rudolph Genée's Hans Sachs (1894) in which the hero appears as a normal, hard-working, home-loving man whose loyalty towards his family is firm. This preference for earthly happiness rather than artistic success lends itself to ridicule by earlier, Romantic dramatists, such as, for example, Carl Meisl in his Orpheus und Euridice (1820).

pursuits.

Not all artist-heroes of this mid-century period decide so easily that art should be subordinated to normal life.
(1)
In L.F.Deinhardstein's Garrick in Bristol, the poet Frondham is shown to be much less decided as to his course of action when faced with a choice between art and life:

'...verdammt Pein! -Was ist zu thun?

'Mich lässt die Liebe und die Kunst nicht ruh'n;'

(I, i).

He realises that both art and life have a claim upon him and suffers, struggling to do his best in both directions. There are many artist-heroes who are presented in this way as enduring a great inner conflict before eventually turning their back upon art, and it is interesting to see how differently they may react to the insistent claim of society upon them. Some are able to follow the two paths of duty almost simultaneously, turning from the one to the

(1) (Lustspiel in vier Aufzügen und in Versen. Wien, 1834).

See also J.C.Freiherr von Zedlitz: Kerker und Krone (1833)

Tasso speaks:

'So lang' die Luft ich athme dieser Welt,

'Bin ich im Kampf befangen...' (V, v).

other as occasion demands and keeping the art-world entirely separate from the normal world. One such artist who is shown - in a satirical presentation - keeping faith with both art and life and turning from the one to the other, is Forell in Karl Sondershausen's Pegasus im Joche: (1)

'Da kömmt mir eine ¹dee! - Ach, wie zur Unzeit! -... Die Muse besucht mich - in der schmutzigen Wirtschaft! - Geh'! Geh'! weiche von mir, du Himmlische!...' (I, ii). In S.H.Mosenthal's Ein deutsches Dichterleben (1878) too, Bürger is unable to devote himself to his art because of his wife's illness:

'O, vergib mir, Muse, wenn ich dir jetzt die Thür verschliesze! Grolle nicht und komme wieder, wenn ich sie wieder Öffnen darf.' (II, iii).

There are, again, dramas - for instance Rudolf Baron von Gottesheim's William Shakespeare (1883) - in which the

- (1) (Dramatische Bilder in vier Aufzügen. In Der Letzte aus Altweimar. Erinnerungen und Dichtungen. Weimar, 1859. III). See also Rudolph Genée: Hans Sachs, where the Ehrenhold thus describes Sachs' method of working:

'Zur Feierstunde nur nahn ihm die Musen,

'Dann ruht die Ahle, und die Feder eilt,...'

(Abt. II, Prolog).

hero turns decidedly away from art, after an inner struggle. He takes this course, not because he considers art inferior in importance to life, but because he cannot serve both causes at once and is incapable of denying the claim of his fellowmen. Shakespeare, in this dilemma, gives up the art which is so dear to him in order to provide for his family. In Friedrich Maschek's Das Lebensende Rafael Sanzio's (1887) the hero declines an opportunity of pursuing his art, in order to gain the love of a girl. The inner conflict which he suffers, however, costs him his life.

One of the most striking examples of the artist's struggle against the claims of normal life is seen in Hebbel's sketch Der Dichter. Here the hero is torn between love of his art and the desire to promote it in the world, and, on the other hand, duty to his wife and children. He cannot both serve his art in the way he would wish and at the same time bear his responsibility as a man. Art, he considers, is the supreme value:

'Lord Palmerston würde länger dauern, wenn er ein Komma im Shakespeare wäre, als jetzt, nun er Haupt-Vocal im Staatsrath ist.' (section 10).

One thing is certain, however, - the hero cannot allow his family to starve. How then does he fulfil his duty towards his family and at the same time do justice to the

art which is his first interest? He believes that the creation alone of a work of art is sufficient fulfilment of his artistic responsibility. If he furthers his work as much as lies within his power, his obligation to his genius and his art is ended. What happens afterwards to his masterpiece does not depend on him, for it stands on its merit as art and succeeds or fails irrespective of his efforts. (1) Hebbel's artist-hero thus creates his masterpiece, sees it on its way to a great future by yielding up his claim to it, in favour of one who can promote it in the world. He then feels relieved of all responsibility towards his art and may devote his entire attention to

Hebbel writes in a letter to Emil Palleske (Briefe^{Wabe}. 2^{ed.} cit. (14th IV, p.39. Nr.244. 23/6/47):

'Die Frage nach dem äusseren Erfolg...kommt...für
'Die Frage nach dem äusseren Erfolg...kommt...für

die Kunst gar nicht...in Betracht,...Die Kunst hat ihren Lohn und ihren Segen in sich selbst,.' Similarly Edwin Bormann's Der Kampf um Shakespeare (1897) revolves around the problem - did Bacon or Shakespeare write the dramas? None can solve it and finally a crown is held above the works themselves,- it matters little who is the author since the masterpieces have been created.

his family. His chief duty, he feels, lies with them, for, while his art once created may survive without his help, his family cannot:

'Ein Gang des Armen, durstend, am Wirthshaus vorbei,
'in den Bäckerladen hinein, ein Brot für die
Seinigen zu

'kaufen, ist mehr, als alle meine Stücke.' (section
11).

Art is indeed of deeper significance than human relationships; the need of his family is however more pressing than that of his masterpiece. The fact that this artist is essentially a normal man disposes him to devote himself to his social responsibilities.

The fundamental normality of Hebbel's artist-hero is one obvious point of contrast between Der Dichter and Grillparzer's Sappho. Grillparzer's artist is a figure of superhuman greatness, set apart from normal men by reason of her artistic tendencies. In a passing phase of her story, however, Sappho endeavours like Hebbel's artist to fulfil her nature as a human being. While the hero of Der Dichter is instinctively aware of the importance of human values

(1)

and relationships, Sappho begins her career as a pure artist and only after experience of a life remote from

- (1) In some artist-dramas, the hero, though fully aware that his most pressing duty lies with his human relationships, is unable to abandon his art. The artist, in such presentations, feels doomed to look on at life with longing, conscious that his true place is there, yet unable to deny his service to art. Schiller, for example, in Heinrich Laube's Die Karlsschüler (1846) deplores the enforced emptiness of the artist's life. The same attitude is presented by the hero of H.Th.Schmid's Camoens (1843) (Trauerspiel in fünf Akten. In Dramatische Schriften. I. Leipzig, 1853):

'Wer ungenügsam mit verweg'ner Hand

'In eig'ner Brust sich eine Schöpfung baut:

'Ein ander Leben leben will hienieden,

'Als es dem Staubgeborenen geziemt,

'Der musz die Güter alle von sich werfen,

'Die es ihm mit Sirenenlächeln baut:...' (III, iv)

See also Ludwig van Beethoven von einem Bonner (1870).

Such artists are, like Sappho, superhuman beings whose destiny does not lie in the normal world. Unlike Sappho they cannot accept this fate but believe, with Hebbel's artist, that human responsibility ought not to be denied. Their conflict is thus insoluble, neither the solution offered by Sappho nor that of Der Dichter being applicable.

the world does she realise how much she has missed. As soon as her eyes are opened to the value of normal human existence, her previous life seems empty and worthless in its exclusive dedication to art, and she determines to turn her back upon it and seek experience among her fellowmen.

At the beginning of the drama, Sappho has become aware of the onesidedness of her life as a 'divine' artist compared to the normal life of ordinary men:

'Gar ängstlich steht sich's auf der Menschheit Höhn
'Und ewig ist die arme Kunst gezwungen,
'Zu betteln von des Lebens Überflusz.' (I, iii). (1)

Elsewhere, she says in similar fashion to Melitta:

'Weh Dem, den aus der Seinen stillem Kreise
'Des Ruhms, der Ehrsucht eitler Schatten lockt.
'Ein wildbewegtes Meer durchschiffet er
'Auf leichtgefügtem Kahn. Da grünt kein Baum,
'Da sprosset keine Saat und keine Blume,

(1) An echo of this thought is heard in Friedrich Halm's Camoens (1838):

'Unsel'ges Lied, das meinem Geist entsprosz,
'Unsel'ger Kranz, der meine Stirn umschloz!
'Für euch, Trotz biethend feindlichem Geschick,
'Entsagte ich des Lebens stillen Freuden.' (scene
iii).

(1)

'Ringsum die graue Unermeszlichkeit.' (I, v).

Thus disillusioned, Sappho now looks to the other extreme - complete absorption in life - as the ideal form of existence. Phaon appears to her as the perfect example of humanity, representing the physical qualities and achievements which have come to mean so much to her:

'Was kann ich Arme denn dem Teuern bieten?

'In seiner Jugend Fülle steht er da

'Geschmückt mit dieses Lebens schönsten Blüten...

'...Dem Kräftigen gehört die Welt!' (I, v).

Again, to Phaon:

'Verachte nicht der Götter goldne Gaben,

'Die sie bei der Geburt dem Kinde, das

'Zum Vollgenusz des Lebens sie bestimmt,

'Auf Wang' und Stirn, in Herz und Busen giesen!...

'Des Leibes Schönheit ist ein schönes Gut

(1) Compare Ernst Leonhard: Tasso's Tod (1867), scene ii, where Tasso regrets in like manner his decision to devote himself to art:

'- Geist meines Vaters, dessen Näh' ich ahne,

'Du hattest Recht, als Du den Sohn gewarnt,

'Das Spiel der Harfe zum Beruf zu wählen!...'

'Und Lebenslust ein köstlicher Gewinn,...

'Und leben ist ja doch des Lebens höchstes Ziel!'

(I, iii).

Sappho determines then to pursue this goal and partake of the pleasures of ordinary human beings. Her art will, she believes, be renewed as a result of this new way of life. While she stood so far above the ordinary people, it was itself remote, inaccessible, having no contact with the real world and little appeal to her fellowmen. Now, Sappho feels sure, the art which she will create will have new value, being founded upon her knowledge and experience of the life and world of normal men. This is the hope which she builds upon her union with Phaon:

'An seiner Seite werd' ich unter euch

'Ein einfach stilles Hirtenleben führen;

'Den Lorbeer mit der Myrte gern vertauschend

'Zum Preise nur von häuslich stillen Freuden

'Die Töne wecken dieses Saitenspiels.

'Die ihr bisher bewundert und verehrt,

'Ihr sollt sie lieben lernen, lieben Freunde.'

(I, ii).

Sappho's belief that the true subjects of art are to be found in the world is echoed by many other artist-heroes. It seems particularly to foreshadow the attitude of heroes

in Realist times. Goethe in Karl Gutzkow's Der
 (1)
Königsleutnant, for instance, insists that the artist
 must participate in the life of normal men in order to
 acquire material for his art:

'Der Quell der wahren Poesie ist das Leben! Der
 Geist hat keine andere Schule als die Welt!' (IV, xx).
 (2)

Similarly, in Rudolph Genée's Die Geburt des Dichters,
 Die Poesie explains the purpose of poetry in this way:

'Was in dem weiten All der Schöpfung lebt,

'Das ganze Streben und das ganze Sein,

'Die ganze Poesie im Weltenraume,

'Dein Dichterherz es schliesze Alles ein!' (ed.cit.
 p.13).

Some artist-heroes are shown to achieve this
 valuable contact between art and life by merely
 observing the world from a lofty position. The study of
 nature is proclaimed, for instance, by Charlotte Birch-

(1) (Lustspiel in vier Aufzügen. 1849. In Dr.W. IV. Jena,
 1871).

(2) (Ein Festspiel zur hundertjährigen Geburtstagsfeier
 Friedrich Schiller's. Danzig, 1859). See also F.A.
 Gelbcke: Albrecht Dürers Tod (1836):

'Natur ist ja des Malers Lehrerin,

'Die Quell' aus der er schöpft...' (II, v).

(1)

Pfeiffer's Rubens as the basis of all good art. He advises his students to model their art on living nature rather than on works of art of the old masters. Other heroes advocate the observation of human behaviour as the foundation of art:

'Ein Gasthof ist die angemessenste Wohnung für einen Lustspieldichter. Hier gehen wie in einer Zauberlaterne täglich hundert der neuesten Erscheinungen an uns vorüber, und geben der Fantasie reichen Stoff.'

(Lembert: Der Dichter und der Schauspieler (1813).
I, iv). (2)

- (1) Rubens in Madrid (1839). Other examples of this attitude are found in G.C.Braun: Die Kunstaussstellung (1819); Julius Graf von Soden: Das Bild von Albrecht Dürer (Schauspiel in drei Akten. In Theater. III. Aarau, 1819).
- (2) Compare Karl Gutzkow: Richard Savage oder Der Sohn einer Mutter (Trauerspiel in fünf Aufzügen. 1839. In Dr.W. XI. Jena, 1872), where Miss Ellen says of actors and their method of working:

'Sie dürfen, wenn Sie einen Bettler am Wege sehen, mit einem gespendeten Almosen an ihm vorüber gehen, wir müssen stehen bleiben, ihn nach seinem Kummer fragen und jene Blicke beobachten, die die vorüberwandelnde Menge stumpf und kalt auf seine Blöße wirft --.' (III, ii).

These artist-heroes who stand outside the world like Gods and who hope to derive experience of it from mere observation, are found mainly in dramas written during the Romantic period. The later dramas of the Realist period show artist-heroes who believe such objective observation of the world to be inadequate. An artist is equipped to create, they believe, only when he has gained subjective knowledge of the world, by actually participating in it. In this respect, Sappho foreshadows the attitude of, for instance, Georg Zimmermann's Theodor Körner (1863) in which Humboldt talks thus of the full appreciation of history:

'...wer sie nicht

'Geseh'n, erlebt hat, dem bleibt sie verschlossen.'

(1)

(I, v).

(1) See also Georg Hick: Shakespeare und Southampton (1875).

An early example of this attitude is seen in Theodor Hell's Das Idyll oder die Sucht zu Dichten (Lustspiel in fünf Aufzügen. Leipzig, 1806):

'...unser Schauspieler-Gesetzbuch sagt: man muss eine Lage selbst erfahren haben, um sie gehörig zu fühlen, und sie fühlen, um sie vollkommen darzustellen.' (I, iv).

Some dramas present the painful, as well as the pleasant aspect of an artist's experiences in the world:

'Ein Dichter musz in's tolle, lustige Leben hinein ranken,- dort in der Freude reift er und wird süsz! -
 doch auch der Schmerz bleibt nicht aus, der ihn keltert;' ⁽¹⁾
 (scene i)
 Indeed, many artist-heroes are shown to value harsh experiences particularly highly, on the ground that only when matured by pain and grief will they be able to understand and interpret the problems of humanity. Friedrich Halm's Camoens recognises in this way the beneficial effect of suffering:

'Ich war ein Dichter, und ich war es ganz!-

'Was grollt' ich meinem Schmerz? - Er war ja Segen;

'Gott muszte ihn in meine Seele legen,

'Denn nur verblutend reift das Dichterherz!'

(Camoens. scene iv) ⁽²⁾

(1) Fritz Volger: Im lustigen Alt-England oder Shakespeare
und seine Muse (Charakterbild in 1 Akt. Landsberg a.W. 1886)

(2) Compare G.C.Braun: Der Schmied von Antwerpen:

'Doch wollt ihr malen lernen, geht dahin

'Wo Menschen sind, da ist auch Schmerz zu finden.'

(I, iv).

See also J.D.Hoffmann: Tasso's Tod (1834); Theodor
 Goldammer: Petrarca und Laura (1858); Ludwig van
Beethoven von einem Bonner: (III, xii).

The heroes of the various artist-dramas seek such experience in many different spheres. The hero of Albert Lindner's Dante Alighieri (1855) attributes the awakening of his genius to a new emotion - hate. Georg Zimmermann shows in his drama Theodor Körner an artist who finds inspiration on the battle-field, when fear heightens his perception. The emotional experience which is most frequently presented in the artist-dramas is, however, love. Love, above all other emotions, is shown to be beneficial to art.

Grillparzer's Sappho is, of course, one artist who longs to experience love. Her attitude to it is foreshadowed in F.W.Gubitz's Sappho (1816):

' Enteilt mit ihm nach Tempe's Fluren,

'Gab ich dem Geiste Strahlenflug!

'Weil Liebe mit den Sonnenspuren,

'Mich kühn an's Herz der Musen trug!...

' Umfasst von ihm zog in die Saiten

'Ich einen Himmel uns herab,' (ed.cit. p.165).

The heroes of A.W.Griesel's Albrecht Dürer (1820), C.S. Schier's Raphael Mengs (1822), L.F.Deinhardstein's Hans Sachs (1829), I.F.Castelli's Raphael (1845) and Heinrich Laube's Die Karlsschüler all believe similarly that the

(1)
power of love may awaken the best talent in an artist.

It was previously indicated that dramas written in the Romantic period - Grillparzer's Sappho for instance - present the artist as an almost god-like character, standing above ordinary men and consciously seeking human experience, while in most dramas of the Realist period the artist-hero is essentially normal, choosing to pursue without interference an ordinary life. Another point of contrast between the types of hero which predominate in Romantic and Realist times lies in the result of their efforts, the one to change his natural way of life, the other to maintain it. While the normal, fundamentally human artist-hero easily sinks back into the everyday life of his fellowmen, the divine, Romantic hero is never able to lose his identity as an artist, nor can he enter completely into the life of ordinary men. This aspect of the artist's life, too, is presented particularly clearly in Grillparzer's Sappho. In the character of Sappho, the dramatist creates an artist whose destiny does not lie in the normal world, but who is, by reason of her art, doomed to a life of isolation far from human

(1) See Chapter III. pp. 134, 5

contact. The knowledge of her essential difference from normal men is borne in upon Sappho after her experience with Phaon. She struggles to accept her fate and finally does succeed in understanding her own situation in the world. She desires, then, to be allowed to escape into a state of lofty isolation. This longing for distance from the world comes upon her gradually, beginning as the mere realisation of her error in descending among men:

'O Törrin! warum stieg ich von den Höhen,...

'Hier ist kein Ort für mich, als nur das Grab.'

(III, ii).

She looks back with nostalgia upon her past existence, to the freedom and peace of her art-life; and finally prays to the Gods to allow her to leave the world in which she could never find her fulfilment. This fundamental difference between the artist and normal men is emphasised by Grillparzer's precursor, F.W.Gubitz, in his Romantic monodrama Sappho. Here, too, the artist's attempt to enter normal life fails and she must retire to the heights again, reconciled to the necessity of

(1)
devoting herself to art.

When one considers the type of artist presented in these two Romantic dramas - the remote, pure artist who comes to realise that her life is empty in comparison with that of normal men - one is reminded of the hero of Hofmannsthal's Der Tor und der Tod and of many dramas of the late 19th century. Here too, in the character of Claudio, is an artist who has lived a life of devotion to art but has come to appreciate the value of human life. While in this aspect of their outlook Sappho and Claudio are related, there are however obvious differences in their presentation. Sappho's remoteness from the world is that of a goddess, a member of an entirely different race; Claudio is an ordinary man on the same level of society as his fellows and in no way the object of their worship. It is for this reason that the conclusion of

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- (1) In a drama of the late 19th century a picture of the life of an artist is presented - one which could well apply to both Grillparzer's and Gubitz's conception of Sappho:

'.....Sowie der Obern Einer

'Soll er auf dieser Erdenwelt erscheinen

'Und wandern soll er hier ein kurzes Stück,,

'Dann ruf ich ihn, ich zähl ihn zu den Meinen -

'Ich leih ihn dir, ich fordre ihn zurück.'

(the Muse in Wilhelm von Wartenegg's Mozart (1893). ed.

Sappho's experiment with life differs from that of Claudio. While Sappho is set above her fellowmen by reason of her divine calling, Claudio sets himself up as an art-appreciator and a dilettante. Far from the world of everyday life, he devoted himself to the pursuit of his art. He values nothing in the world unless it contributes to the development of his artistic studies. He sees the world solely in terms of art and at no time recognises it as his home or appreciates it for its own value. Unlike the artist-heroes of the Realist period, who are dependent on the world for their artistic material, Claudio has no real contact with human life either in his art or his own existence. Indeed, he makes a point of avoiding any direct experience of the normal world and, unwilling to descend into it and discover its secrets for himself, he derives his knowledge of it at second-hand from books, pictures, antiques. As a result of this perpetual preoccupation with art-values, Claudio's awareness of reality has become dulled. Nature has lost its value for him:

'Ich hab mich so an Künstliches verloren,

'Dasz ich die Sonne sah aus toten Augen

'Und nicht mehr hörte als durch tote Ohren:'

(ed.cit.p.116).

Not only has he become unable to appreciate nature; human life itself fails to impress him. His mother, for instance, is useful to Claudio in sparing him responsibility and worry and in allowing him thus to concentrate on his artistic interests. His friend he uses as a means of acquiring second-hand experience of the world. Claudio keeps himself remote from human life too in the matter of love. Some artist-heroes, as has been seen, are presented as doing their best work when fired with the emotion of love. Claudio, however, has become blind to the real significance of human emotion and treats women merely as a means of gaining material for his art. Just as he sought knowledge of the world from his art-treasures, so does he use a young girl selfishly for his own purposes. She describes thus his attitude to her:

'...Und dasz du mich dann
 'Fortwarfest, achtlos grausam, wie ein Kind,
 'Des Spielens müd, die Blumen fallen lässt...
 'Mein Gott, ich hatte nichts, dich festzubinden.
 'Wie dann dein Brief, der letzte, schlimme, kam,
 'Da wollt ich sterben.' (ed.cit. pp. 126,7).

In the words of the friend of Claudio:

'...Es reizte dich!
 'Mir war es mehr als dieses Blut und Hirn!
 'Und sattgespielt warfst du die Puppe mir,

'Mir zu, ihr ganzes Bild vom Überdruß
 'In dir entstellt, so fürchterlich verzerrt,
 'Des wundervollen Zaubers so entblößt,
 'Die Züge sinnlos, das lebendige Haar
 'Tot hängend, warfst mir eine Larve zu,....'

(ed.cit. p.129).

Other artist-heroes of the late 19th century are shown to ~~maintain~~ a similar attitude towards love. Goethe in Leonhart Wohlmuth's Gothe im Elsass (1871) and in Carl Heckel's Friederike von Sesenheim (1880), abandons his beloved rather than allow himself to be restricted by her. O.Haupt's Hans Sachs, too, regards Lucretia at first in this way, though he later succumbs to her human attraction for him:

'Ein solches Frauenbild ist ein Leben voll
 urkräftiger Poesie - ein solcher Charakter fehlt meiner
 Erfahrung - ich musz ihn im Innersten erforschen, um ihn
 nachbilden zu können.' (Hans Sachs (1890). III, iii),
 and The hero of Friedrich Geszler's Reinhold Lenz (1899)
 in similar fashion desires to acquire experience of love
 but yet to preserve himself and his art from any real
 contact with the world of normal men. Consequently he
 acts ruthlessly towards the girl who would bind him with
 her affection.

Just as Sappho, having been deprived of all human contact, became aware of the worthlessness of that cloistered way of life, so does Claudio at the beginning of Der Tor und der Tod come to see the one-sidedness of the existence which he has led in comparison with that of normal men. He realises that he has missed much by shutting himself up with his art, admires and envies the peasants, tired and content after a day of hard physical labour, and contrasts his own life with theirs:

'Es scheint mein ganzes so versaumtes Leben

'Verlorne Lust und nie geweinte Tränen

'Um diese Gassen, dieses Haus zu weben

'Und ewig sinnlos Suchen, wirres Sehnen.'

(ed.cit. p.113).

Death emphasises man's need for a life of real experience:

'Was allen, ward auch dir gegeben,

'Ein Erdenleben, irdisch es zu leben...

'Weh dir, wenn ich dir das erst sagen musz!

'Man bindet und man wird gebunden,

'Entfaltung wirken schwül und wilde Stunden;...'

(ed.cit. p.122).

While Sappho finds out for herself the value of human experience, Claudio has thus to have it pointed out to him by Death. Only then does he, like Sappho, determine to seek and participate in the real life of normal men:

'Ich will nicht länger töricht jammern,
 'Ich will mich an die Erdscholle klammern,
 'Die tiefste Lebenssehnsucht schreit in mir.
 'Die höchste Angst zerreiszt den alten Bann;
 'Jetzt fühl ich - lasz mich - dasz ich leben kann!.
 'Ich werde Menschen auf dem Wege finden,
 'Nicht länger stumm im Nehmen und im Geben,
 'Gebunden werden - ja! - und kräftig binden.'

(ed.cit. p.123).

Sappho, the divine artist, was not able to remain in the normal world and had to give up her attempt to live an ordinary life. Claudio, however, is essentially a normal man who has betrayed his nature by shutting himself up of his own accord, far from contact with his fellowmen.

When once he realises and atones for his crime, he is given the hope that he may return to his natural sphere.

In Der Tor und der Tod the type of the hermit-artist is thus held up for our condemnation; the man who devotes his life to art and art alone realises himself that such an existence is worthless. In this respect Claudio is representative of disillusionment with contemporary aestheticism and of nostalgia for the former years of Realism. There are however many artist-dramas of

the late 19th century in which the hero represents the true attitude of aestheticism by believing human relationships to be comparatively unimportant and art to be independent of them, self-sufficient and of supreme value. One artist-drama in which this attitude is clearly seen is Die versunkene Glocke. The hero is here, unlike Sappho or Claudio, initially situated in the midst of simple village life; he is an ordinary man who at the same time longs to create great art. He experiences the world in the way that Sappho longs to do; he knows family ties as Claudio never did; he is a normal man but as such has no success in his art. The bell which was the best achievement of his career he knows to be a failure. He realises that life in the world is not conducive to the creation of art and that so long as he remains in normal society he will never reach his ideal:

'....Dort im Bergsee ruht

'die letzte Frucht von meiner Kraft und Kunst.

'Mein ganzes Leben, wie ich es gelebt,

'trieb keine bess're, konnte sie nicht treiben:'

(II).

While Heinrich states in general terms that art is restricted by its contact with the world, many other

heroes, believing likewise that the world is an uncongenial home for artists, present their attitude in greater detail and actually name the conditions which they think necessary for artistic creation. Some maintain that art is itself a complete existence, that the artist can spare neither time nor interest for the pursuit of a normal life. An early example of this way of thinking is shown in L.Geyer's Der Bethlehemitische Kindermord.⁽¹⁾ The artist in this drama meditates a great picture, confident of his ability to create it at any time. He does not do any active work however, but allows his wife and children to starve - a satirical picture of the artist, but one which at the end of the century has serious counterparts. Albert Lindner in his drama William Shakspeare (1864) shows an artist who believes in giving his undivided attention to art:

'Die Muse will den Menschen voll und ganz.'⁽²⁾ (III, x).

Similarly Frank Wedekind's Gerardo allows no human

- (1) (Dramatisch-komische Situationen aus dem Künstlerleben, in zwey Aufzügen. In D.S. XIV. Wien, 1825. [Weimar, 1823 - V.B.])
- (2) Der Kammersänger (Drei Szenen. September, 1897. In Ausgewählte Werke. München, 1924. II).

obligations to interfere with the one important interest in his life:

'Ich bin in erster Linie Künstler und dann bin ich Mensch!' (Auftritt ix).

(1)
In Gerhart Hauptmann's Gabriel Schillings Flucht, the artist-hero is actually proved to be more successful when unfettered by human responsibility and worry:

'Du hättest ihn sehen sollen, noch wie er vor einigen Tagen war, als wir ihn hier tüchtig aufgepolstert hatten und bevor sein Verhängnis, in Gestalt dieser Hanna, hier auftauchte.' (V).

In some artist-dramas it is made even more explicit that the main condition for the creation of good art is the artist's exemption from all duties as a human being.

Beethoven in the drama by a Bonn citizen pleads to be freed of worldly restrictions so that he may thereby achieve the inner harmony and freedom which he desires.

In Wilhelm von Polenz's drama Heinrich von Kleist,⁽¹⁸⁹¹⁾ Fouqué wishes for Kleist only that he may be left alone to develop his art:

'Ja, Adam Müller hat recht. Eine sorgenfreie Lage würde die Musze geben, ganz dich auszuleben, deine

(1) (Drama in fünf Akten. 1912. In G.W.¹ III. Berlin, 1906).

volle Kraft, deine herrlichen Gaben dem einen groszen Zwecke zu widmen.' (I, vi).

A picture of the ideal life of an artist under such conditions is presented in certain artist-dramas. It is a life free from material difficulties and human responsibilities. It is in fact the life of a hermit. (1)
Johannes in Hauptmann's Einsame Menschen is one artist who conceives the ideal thus:

'Ich hasse nämlich die Stadt. Mein Ideal ist ein weiter Park mit einer hohen Mauer rings herum. Da kann man so ganz ungestört seinen Zielen leben.' (I).

Similarly Hauptmann's artist-hero in Michael Kramer (1900) says of the ideal life:

'Hör'n Se, kein Leben in Saus und Braus: Einsame Stunden, einsame Tage, einsame Jahre, sehn Se 'mal an. Hör'n Se, da musz er mit sich allein sein, mit seinem Leiden und seinem Gott. Hör'n Se, da musz er sich täglich heiligen! Nichts Gemeines darf an ihm und in ihm sein.' (II).

(1) (Drama in fünf Akten. 1891. In G.W. I. Berlin, 1906).

This aspect of an artist's life- the longing to escape from the everyday world into one more conducive to the creation of art - is presented in many dramas and appears in a variety of lights. The Romantic artist-hero, as was previously seen, yearns to return to his life of devotion to art, having been disillusioned in the world. The heroine of F.W.Gubitz's Sappho sums up her outlook thus:

'Nicht sterb' ich, weil die Liebe mich betrogen

'Ich sterbe, weil die Liebe mir erstirbt;

'Zur Erde kann ich kein Vertrau'n mehr fassen,

'Und jede Täuschung werf' ich ihr zurück!'

(ed.cit. p.174).

Similarly Grillparzer's Sappho, after her experience of the world of normal men, looks back with longing upon her past existence:

'Ich stand so ruhig in der Dichtung Auen,

'Mit meinem goldnen Saitenspiel allein' (IV, ii).

She finally prays to be allowed to escape from the world:

'Laszt mich vollenden, so wie ich begonnen,

'Erspart mir dieses Ringens blut'ge Qual.' (V, vi). (1)

(1) See also Wilhelm von Chézy: Petrarca (1832), (IV, i):

'O gebt mir meine kleine Hütte wieder,

'Gebt mir zurück mein still umhagtes Thal.'

While Sappho could from experience compare life in the world of men with a life of devotion to art, there are many artist-heroes in the later years of the century who, having had experience of normal life alone, yet long to escape from it. Such heroes are presented, for instance, as suffering under a nagging wife or a tyrannical father or as restricted in some way by the very circumstances of their life. Many are so unhappy in their life that they long for death as a means of escape from it; some actually seek their own death, in a few cases by committing suicide.

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- (1) For instance Julius Grosse: Meister Dürers Erdenwallen (1871)
- (2) For instance F.Ferdinand Kieszling: Ein Tag aus Shakespeare's Leben (1860); Leopold Stein: Des Dichter's Weihe (1864); Rudolf Baron von Gottesheim: William Shakespeare.
- (3) For instance Ludwig van Beethoven von einem Bonner.
- (4) For instance H.Th.Schmid: Camoens; Albert von Ruville: Dante und Beatrice (Schauspiel in 5 Aufzügen. Berlin, 1890)
- (5) For instance Elise Schmidt: Der Genius und die Gesellschaft (1856); Emil Hopffer: Der Wildschütz vom Avon (1864); Albert Schmidt: Dante Alighieri (Tragödie in fünf Acten. Wismer, Rostock und Ludwigslust, 1874); O.Haupt: Hans Sachs; Wilhelm von Polenz: Heinrich von Kleist.

Not all artist-heroes, however, who thus desire freedom from worldly cares and responsibilities are doomed to long for it in vain or to achieve it only through death. Some are presented as breaking away from the world and developing their art with concentration and freedom. To do this, the artists act ruthlessly towards their fellowmen; art is their only consideration. Many heroes, for instance, abandon wife and family in order to devote themselves to their art, this being the course adopted by Heinrich in Die versunkene Glocke. He shakes himself free from family ties, turns his back upon wife and children and for the first time lives only for his art. Heinrich's break with normal life and his discovery of a world where his art thrives are presented in the drama in real terms. To pass from the one form of existence into the other, Heinrich does actually travel from the valley to the mountain. The mountain is remote and difficult of access and its inhabitants are inimical to those of the lowland. Heinrich, once arrived in the magic art-world, blossoms out as an artist.

In many other artist-dramas in which the hero, like Heinrich, turns his back upon his human responsibilities and seeks a life of devotion to art alone, the

transition from the one world to the other is effected in less literal terms than in Die versunkene Glocke. In an early drama, for instance, - Friedrich Kind's Des
 (1)
Dichters Sommernacht - the poet merely requires to draw the curtains and know himself alone, in order to be transported into a new world where art is possible:

' So bin ich denn allein

'Mir übergeben, bin allein noch munter?

'Die Gardine herunter

'Zur schirmenden Decke,

'Dasz nicht der Blitze Widerschein

'Mir Weib und Kindlein schrecke.

' Jetzt, o Phantasus, erscheine,

'Wirf um mich den Riesenarm..' (ed.cit. p.56).

In many later dramas, the hero does not even shut himself away in actual solitude in order to reach the world of art. He moves, apparently normally, in the world, while living mentally in the art-world, remote from his fellow-men and uninterested in the events of their lives. This type of artist-hero is indifferent to his physical welfare

(1) (Caprice. In Die Harfe. I. Leipzig, 1815).

and that of others. He is happy and content in his imaginative life; he is too absorbed in his art to care for any other values. One presentation of this type of artist is found in Frank Wedekind's Der Kammersänger. Gerardo thinks only of himself, has no interest in the work of an unknown, struggling composer or in an admirer of his work, nor can he accept the love of a woman. He is no longer interested in human life at all, but is just as far removed from it as ~~is~~ Heinrich in the mountain-world. (1)

- (1) Some earlier artist-heroes represent the same attitude to the world of normal men. S.Wiese's Beethoven, for instance, speaks thus:

'Mit andern, andern Dingen geh' ich um,

'Als sie auf Erden mir erscheinen dürfen;'

(Beethoven (1836), I, iii).

C.S.Schier's Rafael speaks in the same vein:

'Der Künstler lebt in seiner eignen Welt...'

(Rafael Mengs. I, ii).

In Georg Harrys' Der reiche Künstler und der arme Millionair (1825) the hero delights in poverty and refuses to allow his daughter to marry anyone but an impoverished artist like himself. Emanuel Geibel's Meister Andrea (1855) shows a ridiculous picture of an artist, constantly absent in mind from the real world and completely engrossed in his art.

In many of the artist-dramas in which the hero thus succeeds in breaking away from life, one aspect of his remoteness from the world is given special prominence - his dispassionate attitude to human love. Heinrich in Die versunkene Glocke, for instance, forgets his duty to Magda, his wife, is impatient with her, turns away from her with no qualms and, once arrived in the mountain-world, substitutes Rautendelein for her in his affections. There is however no question of his loving Rautendelein in the same way as he loved Magda. The elf represents for Heinrich something entirely different, and he loves her in a different way. She is in fact the tangible embodiment of his art and the means of opening his eyes to the reality of the magic art-world. He loves her for the

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- (1) 'Ich sah dich schon. Wo sah ich dich? Ich rang,
'ich dient' um dich...wie lange? Deine Stimme
'in Glockenerz zu bannen, mit dem Golde
'des Sonnenfeiertags sie zu vermählen:' (I).

(2) Before receiving the gift of her magic power Heinrich says:

'Ich bin ein Mensch und blind.' (II).

After she has influenced him his outlook is quite changed:

'Ich war erblindet, nun erfüllt mich Licht,

'und ahnungsweis' ergreif ich deine Welt.

'Ja, mehr und mehr, wie ich dich in mich trinke,

'du Rätselbildung, fühl ich, dasz ich sehe.' (II).

ideal qualities which he sees in her and for her ability to inspire in him the power to create. As in the case of the art-world itself, Die versunkene Glocke thus presents in real terms an aspect of the artist's life which is generally rendered figuratively. G.C.Braun's Rafael Sanzio von Urbino (1819) is a case in point. The hero says:

'Die Kunst ist ja mein Weib, und meine Werke

'Sind meine Kinder:' (V, x).

Heinrich, on the other hand, does actually marry his art, personified by Rautendelphin.

In cases where the hero is thus 'married' to his art (1) his exclusive duty towards it is often emphasised. He must not spare any interest or affection for his fellowmen, and indeed those artist-heroes who are presented as living in a world of their own creation do in most cases feel (2) no emotion whatsoever towards women. This objective attitude is seen for instance in an earlier drama - I.F. Castelli's Raphael-where the artist is shown using a

(1) For example Hauptmann's Gabriel Schillings Flucht.

(2) Compare Claudio's treatment of a girl before his eyes were opened to the value of human love. See above pp. 84, 5

woman merely as a servant who will spare him all worldly cares:

'Zudem wer sich die Kunst zum Studium gewählt,

'Der nimmt ein Mädchen meist nur darum sich zum

Weibe,

'Damit er ungestört auf seinem Sitze bleibe.'

(scene iv).

Many artist-heroes are shown to be capable of maintaining this attitude of aloofness towards the normal world. Heinrich in Die versunkene Glocke is not. He does succeed in reaching the world of the ideal; he does find his inspiration in Rautendelein; but before long he realises that the lofty mountain-world is not his real home. He is not able to lose all his human qualities even when remote from the world. He cannot deny the call of his children nor the memory of his wife. He hears the bell ring out to him as a reminder of his past life. He realises that he can neither break away from his human life nor be content with it. It is equally impossible for him to merge himself entirely into the art-world. The aspect of the artist which Hauptmann emphasises in this drama is, then, his fundamental normality. He is not divinely different from other men,

as are Sappho and the majority of Romantic artist-heroes; he cannot turn his back on art and prefer a normal life as do the heroes of most dramas written in Realist times - Hebbel's Der Dichter, for instance; he is a normal man, who has however artistic talent. With this talent he can never quite fit into ordinary life; as a man however he cannot achieve the ideal expression of his artistic vision. He is doomed to strive eternally after his ideal. His very nature as a man limits and hinders his success as an artist. This fact - that one cannot be both a pure artist and a normal man - Claudio in Der Tor und der Tod discovers. He prefers to be a normal man. Not so Heinrich. His eyes are fixed on the artistic ideal and at the conclusion of the drama he is given the promise that as his earthly life is completed he will attain his goal. Clearly for him, as for most late-century artist-heroes, the creation of art in its highest form is the chief aim of existence.

CHAPTER III.THE ARTIST'S CONCEPTION OF HIS ART.

When one considers the problem of the artist's behaviour in the normal world, the factor which ultimately determines his attitude to his fellowmen would seem to be his attitude to his art. It is logical to believe that, according as an artist interprets the meaning and function of his art, so he conceives his duty towards society. If he considers art to be the product of genius together with human experience, then he will endeavour to take an active part in normal life. If, on the other hand, he conceives art to be an esoteric cult, then he will shun all contact with the world. This fundamental aspect of an artist's life and work naturally receives great prominence in the 19th-century German artist-dramas. In many of these, the hero, either by direct speech or significant action, clearly reveals his views regarding the significance of art - views which ultimately influence and mould his attitude to life. Among the many conceptions of art thus presented, three main questions arise repeatedly to which the artist-heroes

give varying answers: why does the artist create art? - how does he create? - what kind of art does he produce?

The first aspect, concerning the artist's purpose in creating, is presented in the dramas in a great variety of lights. Some artists for instance confess that money is their sole object in pursuing an artistic career, while, at the other extreme, many create art purely for the joy which they derive from it.

Those who create art only for financial gain form a distinctive group among the artist-heroes of the early 19th century. Their art is to them merely a source of income, artificial, forced, inspired solely by the urgency of their financial situation. They switch on their facile creative power whenever they are in need of money, but have no respect for art as such. The chance of being a really great artist means nothing for instance to the hero of Carl Meisl's Orpheus und Euridice (1820). He prefers a tangible reward for his work:

'Es mag ein schöne Sach um die Unsterblichkeit
seyn. Ich bin nicht dumm,

'Aber ein Quintel Gold ist mir lieber als ein
Zentner von Ruhm.' (II, iv).

Similarly in A.W.Griesel's Albrecht Dürer (1820), Melchior, a so-called artist, thinks primarily of the gain which is afforded him by the practice of art. He has no idea of the nature of genius nor of the need for inspiration. He believes simply that, if the tricks of the trade are once learnt, the profit follows automatically:

'Sah Künstler wohl in Seid' und Gold,

'Die kriegten euch verfluchten Sold,

'Für so ein paar gemahlte Dinger,

'Man braucht dazu nur frische Finger,

'Ein bischen Farben, bischen Oel

'Und fertig ist's bei meiner Seel -' (scene vii).

One obvious feature of the presentation of this mercenary type of artist is the irony with which the dramatist treats him. Clearly, he does not in this case identify himself with the hero, but rather holds him up for our ridicule, and by contrast indicates that art may be regarded from a more worthy point of view than that of financial profit.⁽¹⁾

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- (1) The very fact that a dramatist creates this type of artist at all suggests, however, that this conception of his nature was maintained by some members of the contemporary society.

In the vast majority of early 19th-century artist-dramas this less mercenary attitude to art is presented, however, not by contrast with an unworthy attitude, but in positive terms. The heroes of most Romantic dramas maintain that art is too valuable to be sold for money, and that their inspiration is irresistible and expressed for its own sake. Among those artist-heroes who are shown in this way to prefer artistic integrity to money, many shades of difference may be distinguished. Some, while firmly believing that art is of far greater value than money, yet cannot face complete poverty for its sake and, though unwillingly and guiltily, debase their talent in order to live. In Georg Doering's Cervantes (1819), an artist is presented in this way:

'Traurig ist's wahrhaftig doch,

'Dasz die edlen Künstlergaben

'Ich an ein phantastisch Ding

'Musz um schönes Gold verschwenden.' (I, iii).

A similar attitude is maintained by the painter in Hermann Kurz's Kunstkennerschaft (1838). Other heroes are, however, shown to regard their art with such reverence that they prefer to remain in extreme poverty rather than lower their work to a commercial level. Such an artist

is seen in Karl Stein's Die armen Maler (1819) - he speaks thus of a commission offered him by an inn-keeper:

'Er bot mir für das Schild, die Glocke, zwanzig

Thaler,

'Ich aber sprach: 'Nicht so, Herr Wirth! Ich bin
(1)
ein Maler!' (scene iii).

Many artist-heroes who are shown to esteem art above physical comfort do, however, expect some more spiritual reward for their work. While they would in no circumstances trade it for money, they are very willing to accept, in return for a masterpiece, fame and immortality. In Grillparzer's Sappho is embodied this attitude to art. The thought that Sappho might receive money as a reward for her art does not enter her head. She creates above all because she is inspired, because she feels within her an irresistible urge to express herself. She cannot be other than an artist and, a fact which she herself comes to realise only after a struggle, she must serve the cause of art to the exclusion of all other interests. She does, however, delight in one form of reward for her art - she

(1) See also L.F.Deinhardstein: Salvator Rosa (1821):

'Du meinst, ich soll mein Vaterrecht verkaufen,

'Um Geld den Lorber nehmen von dem Haupt;' (I, iv);

accepts gladly the hero-worship of her fellowmen. When the drama begins, Sappho has by reason of her art gained a position of great respect among her people. She is idolised by the islanders. Her triumphant home-coming is made the occasion for rejoicings, and Sappho revels in her position as the centre of interest. While it could not be suggested that her only motive in creating art is self-gratification, the fact remains that she does enjoy this aspect of her work. On her first entrance among the jubilant crowds, for instance, she behaves like an actress making a well-rehearsed public appearance. She pays great attention to the visual effect of her arrival with Phaon at that first important moment. Her speech of thanks reflects in every phrase her conscious pride in her position and fame; it is, on the surface, a model of modest self-effacement, yet barely conceals her intense gratification:

'Dank Freunde, Landsgenossen Dank.

'Um euretwillen freut mich dieser Kranz...' (I, 11)

Sappho in her regal position makes enquiries after the welfare of her subjects with just a trace of condescension. Fame sits easily upon her shoulders. While under the spell of Phaon's normality, while yearning for the pleasures of

a simple life, she does certainly speak with bitterness of fame and its pursuit:

'Weh Dem, den aus der Seinen stillem Kreise

'Des Ruhms, der Ehrsucht eitler Schatten lockt.'

(I, v).

She cannot however remain blind to the glory of fame and clearly realises and appreciates the benefits which she derives from her high station in life. Though almost ashamedly, she confesses her delight in this aspect of her art, saying of the laurel-wreath:

'Von Tausenden gesucht und nicht errungen!

'Nicht wahr Melitta?...

'Es schmähe nicht den Ruhm, wer ihn besitzt,

'Er ist kein leer- bedeutungsloser Schall,

'Mit Götterkraft erfüllet sein Berühren!

'Wohl mir, ich bin so arm nicht.' (I, v).

A real need of fame shines through Sappho's whole behaviour, in spite of her desire to be like normal men, in spite of her attempt to meet Phaon on his own level. It is, for instance, this secret love of fame which renders so bitter her defeat at the hands of her slave, Melitta:

'Sappho verschmäht um ihrer Sklavin Willen!...

'Bin ich dieselbe Sappho denn nicht mehr,

'Die Könige zu ihren Füßen sah,
 'Und spielend mit der dargebotnen Krone,
 'Die Stolzen sah und hörte und entliesz!
 'Dieselbe Sappho, die ganz Griechenland
 'Mit lautem Jubel als sein Kleinod grüßte?'

(III, ii).

For the first time Sappho is refused the adoration which her temperament demands, and for the first time she realises fully what she has tried to conceal even from herself - that the desire for fame is in her blood and that nothing else can satisfy her:

'Ein Bisz nur in des Ruhmes goldne Frucht,
 'Proserpinens Granatenkernen gleich,
 'Reiht dich auf ewig zu den stillen Schatten
 'Und den Lebendigen gehörst du nimmer an.' (III, ii)

When Sappho feels that her personality and her name no longer command the loyalty of her fellowmen, she is stunned, clings to Rhamnes who alone treats her with his accustomed respect, and turns, bitter and cruel, to attack Phaon and Melitta for their treachery towards her. Phaon convinces her, however, of his unfailing admiration for her as an artist and indeed she finally follows his advice:

'Zeig' dich als Göttin!' (V, iii).

She clothes herself once more in the traditional robes of her art, transforming herself into the goddess of her people, and, as a dramatic, honoured figure rather than as a normal woman, she commits suicide. In her concluding prayer to the Gods, she thanks them first for granting her the power to create and then for giving her fame and glory in her lifetime. Her prayer is surely convincing evidence of the importance which Sappho attaches to her reputation as an artist:

'Ihr habt mit Sieg dies schwache Haupt gekrönt
'Und ausgesät in weitentfernte Lande
'Der Dicht'rin Ruhm, Saat für die Ewigkeit!
'Es tönt mein goldnes Lied von fremden Zungen
'Und mit der Erde nur wird Sappho untergehn,
'Ich dank' euch!' (V, vi).

Many other artist-heroes of the Romantic period are shown to maintain this attitude towards art. F.W. Ziegler's Benvenuto Cellini (1824) and Wilhelm von Chézy's Petrarca (1832), for instance, contain examples of artists who desire fame and enjoy it in their lifetime. An extreme expression of this ambition is found in a later drama - Im Globus (1853) by H.Dorn:

'Der Beifall der Höchsten ist des Dichters
schönstes Ziel.' (I, vi).

Many more artist-heroes expect fame to be accorded to them after their death, and this prospect of immortality seems reward enough for their creative efforts. The hero of Karl Stein's Shakespeares Bestimmung (1819), for instance, clearly expects such an honour.

Another aspect of the artist-hero's desire for fame - and one which again occupies a prominent position in Grillparzer's Sappho - concerns the immortality of the subject of the work of art. (1) As well as desiring fame for herself Sappho wishes to immortalise Phaon and her relationship to him. Consequently she grieves over Phaon's infidelity and ingratitude, regretting above all her high plans for him:

'Ich wollt' ihn stellen auf der Menschheit Gipfel,
 'Erheben hoch vor allen, die da sind,
 'Und über Grab und Tod und Sterblichkeit
 'Ihn tragen auf den Fittigen des Ruhms
 'Hinüber in der Nachwelt lichte Fernen.' (IV, i).

A particularly clear case of this purpose in creating art - the exchanging of the work against the promise of immortality for its subject - is found in Theodor

(1) See above Chapter II A, p. 47ff., where the theme of immortality is also treated and is shown to interest the normal men as well as the artist-heroes of the dramas.

Goltdammer's Petrarca und Laura (1858), in which the hero proclaims the name of Laura during her lifetime and, (1) after her death, undertakes to glorify her still further.

Not all artist-heroes, however, are presented as creating art with a view to some reward, whether in terms of money or fame. Many regard the creation of art as an end in itself and are indeed prepared to sacrifice (2) themselves for the sake of their work. This type of hero appears in the artist-dramas roughly from the middle of the century onwards, and a striking example is found in Hebbel's sketch for the drama Der Dichter. An obvious contrast, from the point of view of the artist's attitude to fame, is provided by a study of Hebbel's artist-hero and of Grillparzer's Sappho. While Sappho, divinely inspired, cannot live without fame and adoration, the hero of Der Dichter effaces himself completely from the public eye and wishes only that his work and not himself may be granted immortality. He requires nothing whatsoever as a reward for his own part in the creation

(1) See also F.W.Gubitz: Sappho (1816); Wilhelm von Chézy: Petrarca.

(2) For instance the hero of Charlotte Birch-Pfeiffer's Rubens in Madrid (1839); Richard von Meerheimb's Shakespeare's Beichte in der Westminster-Abtey (1879).

of his masterpiece. His one desire is a glorious future for that work. The extent of his selfless devotion to art is seen in the course of action which he follows. He can either maintain his identity as author of the poem, in which case the poem itself will not reach its greatest fulfilment; or he can renounce his claim to authorship and give up his work to someone better equipped to further it in the world. The hero does not hesitate in deciding his course. Hebbel's sketch of the situation is as follows:

'Das Gedicht...Der Freund, hochgestellt, im Stande, ihm die äusseren Flügel zu geben. Darum Nothwendigkeit des Entschlusses zur Abtretung und zur Annahme.' (section 5). Many mid-century artist-heroes other than that of Der Dichter maintain this attitude to their work. Schiller in Heinrich Laube's Die Karlsschüler (1846), for instance, says:

'Der Dichter stirbt, die Dichtung aber nicht, und wer sie töten will, stirbt wie Prometheus ein ew'ges Sterben, einen ewigen Tod.' (IV, v).

Why, one may ask, should it be a matter of such great urgency to these artists that their work should receive fame and immortality? Hebbel's artist considers it at all costs necessary that the message of his poem and his own

personal inspiration should be communicated to the public:

'Das Gedicht: ein Versuch, durch Vorführung alter
Heldengröße die neue zu erwecken, die nötig ist.'
(1)
(section 5).

A revelation such as the poet has experienced, and which is of great and immediate contemporary interest, must reach the ears of his fellowmen. The hero of Karl Gutzkow's Lorber und Myrte (1855) in the same way desires no fame for himself, but wishes only to leave his influence upon the contemporary world:

'...Was ist zuletzt ein Lorber!

'Ich kämpfe - mit der Zeit und dem Jahrhundert!'

(IV, ii).

Similarly Shakespeare in F. Ferdinand Kieszling's Ein Tag aus Shakespeare's Leben (1860) and the hero of Ludwig van Beethoven (1870) by a Bonn citizen desire to teach the world and communicate to it their visions. Beethoven speaks thus:

'Wenn ich gewahre, dass die Töne, die ich...
herausströmen liesz, Wiederhall finden in den Menschen-

(1) See also section 5:

'Es ist ja so, als ob ich mein armes, der
trostlosesten Zukunft entgegen gehendes Kind einem reichen
Mann abträte.'

geistern,...da fühle ich mich so berauscht' (III, x).⁽¹⁾

Many mid- and late-century artist-heroes are thus shown to put their work and its message before any personal reward granted them by society. They desire to see it famous in order that the world may benefit from their inspiration, and ^{wish for} ~~desire~~ no personal compensation for their efforts. Many such artist-heroes, however, while desiring no external reward, derive from their work as artists a purely personal and internal gratification. The artist-hero of Hebbel's Der Dichter, for instance, is rewarded for his art by the great joy which it affords him; he is inwardly satisfied with his created work and with his artistic talent itself.

'Die Schöpfer-Freuden hast Du gehabt,...'

(section 4),

and again:

'Ich bin's ja doch, es ist mein Geist, mein Hauch,

'Und hab' ich denn ein Recht auf Ruhm?..'

(section 11),

and in the initial sketch for the action:

'Innerlich: mir ward die Kraft, darum verzichte ich auf die Frucht.' (section 5).

(1) See also S.H.Mosenthal: Ein deutsches Dichterleben (1878).

Another who finds happiness and internal reward for his efforts is Heinrich in Die versunkene Glocke. While Hebbel's artist-hero rejoices in his power to create and in the created work, Heinrich finds his joy in the unceasing search for artistic perfection. He cares little for his completed bell and is relieved when it is destroyed. Far more important to him than the preservation of his work of art is the desire to achieve perfection; he is not even interested in the imperfect examples of his craft. His mind is concentrated solely on the search for the ideal masterpiece. Fame means nothing to Heinrich. His wife rejoices in it, but he, with his eyes fixed on the goal of perfection, ignores the praise and acclamation of the ignorant villagers. Consequently, without a backward glance, Heinrich turns his back upon the world where his name is honoured, gives up his claim to fame and devotes himself to the pursuit of his ideal in the world of the mountain. Its inhabitants hold him in little regard. The Wittichen despises his efforts; the Waldschrat and the Nickelmännchen taunt him with his failures; the dwarfs themselves ridicule Heinrich's vain attempts to wrest the ideal from their grasp. Yet, none the less, Heinrich fulfils his

conception of an artist's function, untiring as he is in his struggle towards the ideal form of art. For him, the search for this ideal is the all-important and most rewarding aspect of his career. A similar conception is expressed by the hero of Hebbel's Michel Angelo (1855).

Another example of the artist-hero who pursues a life of devotion to art with no thought of external reward is found in Der Tor und der Tod. The form of internal reward which Claudio derives from his work differs from the delight in creation which Hebbel's hero felt and from the satisfaction of striving which Heinrich knew. Claudio is happy merely in handling the artistic medium itself and does not care about achieving the completion of his work of art. Far from desiring money or fame, far from taking pleasure in the creation of art, he devotes himself to a passive study of the medium. He is fascinated by antiques, pictures and rare musical instruments; he is obsessed by the materials of their creation and himself studies the materials for many different branches of art. He is as interested, from this aesthetic point of view, in the emotions of a girl as he is in the colours of a landscape. His devotion to art shines through his every action; he subordinates all other interests to it. Yet he is the complete dilettante, creating nothing positive

and deriving his entire satisfaction from his study of medium alone.

This same love of art for its own sake, this delight in the medium, is seen in another drama of the late 19th century - Otto von der Pfordten's Michel-Angelo (1898). The hero speaks enthusiastically of the block of marble upon which he has been working. The actual work, when finished, is worthless; how much more aesthetic pleasure the sculptor derives from the mere contemplation of the medium than from the completed work of art:

'Glaubt, Marmor macht mich toll - mit edelstem

'Könnt Ihr zu einer Todsünd' mich verlocken!...

'...Und der war von Carrara,

'So rein und edel, wie ich keinen sah,

'Und lachte mich so hold vertrauend an -

'Da schlug ich ein - und schuf - dies Stümperwerk.'

(scene iv).

The artist's purpose in creating is naturally conscious and admits of direct exposition in words and action. One is therefore able to form a clear picture of that purpose by studying an artist-drama. If, however, one seeks to discover through the medium of a drama the nature of the

artistic process itself, a real difficulty arises. It is impossible to assess it on the evidence of the hero, since in many cases that evidence is unreliable. It is one thing for an artist to recognise the purpose behind his work, but another to be aware of and to appreciate his inspiration and method of creating. In order to investigate his mysterious power he must probe into the depths of his consciousness, struggling to reach the truth. Not all artist-heroes are shown capable of this effort of self-analysis, and indeed, many fail utterly to understand their own creative process. It is thus obvious that no attempt can be made to assess directly the source and method of artistic creation - to answer the question 'how does the artist create?' - on the basis of the artist-drama. One may only observe the artist-heroes' approach to the problem, the difficulties which face them in their search for an explanation of creative power, and the varying degree of their awareness of its true nature and method.

One difficulty which is seen to present itself to most artist-heroes is the identification of the source of their inspiration. Many cannot conceive that it springs from within themselves, declare it to be of external

origin and, in their desire to rationalise it, attribute its mysterious action to the working of some independent, uncontrollable force. This general tendency manifests itself mostly in the dramas of the first half of the 19th century and, of the heroes who show themselves thus unwilling to grapple with the problem of their artistic processes, probably the most unanalytical and incurious of all are those seen in a few minor dramas, dating from the very early years of the century. These heroes receive inspiration entirely without effort; visions come to them while they are in a trance. Far from being conscious of the source of their artistic talent, they believe that a magic power descends upon them, uninvited, and departs suddenly, leaving behind a completed work of art as the sole evidence of its presence. Obviously this type of artist is conscious of one feature only of his creative process - its sudden and ecstatic nature -, a feature which naturally gives rise to his blind belief in the existence of an independent, magic force. An artist who conceives inspiration in this way is seen in C.U.Boehllendorff's Fernando(1802). Despairing of ever transferring his vision to the canvas, he hesitates:

'Ein Blitz durchzuckte meine Hand und schnell

'War das Gemäld' entworfen und vollendet-.'

(I, ii).

(1)
In a later drama, J.B.Rousseau's Prolog in honour of Beethoven, the artistic process is presented in a similar fashion:

'Das Wort verklang. Der Schlumm'rer fuhr empor...

'Geworfen jetzt sein Loos, er griff zur That- -.'

(ed. cit. p.244).

Possibly the most detailed description of this type of 'magic' inspiration is found in Friedrich Halm's Camoens (1838):

'Da kam es über mich, wie soll ich's sagen,

'Es kam - nicht doch, es senkte, nein, es schwebte--

'Als wär' ich's selbst, und doch war's auszer mir!..

'Jetzt reißt's mich fort, trägt mich empor -

hinauf -

'Und mein Bewusstseyn schwand. Als ich erwachte,..

'Mein erstes Lied lag thränenfeucht vor mir,...'

(2)

(scene ii).

Clearly this type of artist is content to remain ignorant

(1) Prolog zu dem am 12. November 1836 von Seiten der Stadt Aachen gegebenen Konzerte für Beethoven's Monument. (In Romanzen und Zeitbilder. Düsseldorf, 1838).

(2) See also Emil Hildebrand: Ein gefangener Dichter (1850):

'die Stunde der Inspiration, wo die Trunkenheit des Schaffens über uns kommt, und wir Dinge begehen, welche wir ängstlich vor der Welt Augen verbergen müssen.'

(scene vii).

and unconscious of both the moment and the method by which he creates. He is satisfied to consider himself the blind instrument of some unknown force - an ordinary man who creates art only when allowed by a magic power to see and express visions.

While such artist-heroes are content to close their eyes to the problem of their artistic creation, others, if unable to become quite aware of its nature, are at least uncomfortable in their ignorance. They endeavour subconsciously to justify their lack of insight, by attributing the origin of their talent to forces which they consider real, and by personifying their inspiration in various external forms. Some heroes for instance conceive Art itself to be an external, active force which inspires men to create. In Karl Stein's Die armen Maler this attitude is clearly seen:

'O liebe Malerkunst! dich preis' ich in der That,
 'Dich, die zum Dichter mich geweiht, erhoben hat..
 'Doch führtest du mich auch zu trefflichen Ideen,
 'Die nun, als goldne Frucht, auf dem Papiere
 (1)
 stehen!-' (scene i)

(1) See also C.S.Schier: Palestrina (1825) for another example of this attitude.

Most artist-heroes of the Romantic period, unaware of their own creative power and attempting to find a convincing explanation for their inspiration, are particularly struck by its divine quality. As a result, they externalise the inspiring force in a form tinged with religious meaning - that of a divinity. The vague, subconscious feeling that art is the gift of a deity is expressed in C.U.Boehllendorff's Fernando:

'O welch ein Gott hat mich hierher getrieben,...'

(V, vi),

while in like manner the Baumeister in C.S.Schier's
(1)
Der Künste Morgenröthe attributes his art to a divine source:

'...-Nun seht, was Künste heißen,

'Sind Strahlen nur von jener grossen Sonne,

'In die zurück sie alle sich ergießen.' (2) (scene ii).

Grillparzer's Sappho presents an artist who in this way explains her power by reference to an external divinity.

(1) (Ein Festspiel. In Palestrina. Köln, 1825).

(2) For a similar attitude, see Friedrich Kaiser: Der Schneider als Naturdichter oder Der Herr Vetter aus Steiermark. 1843. Posse mit Gesang in zwei Akten. In Ausgewählte Werke. In Alt-Wiener Volkstheater. VII. Wien, Teschen, Leipzig, 1913); H.Th.Schmid: Rafael (1853).

She is unaware of her own part in the moment of creation⁽¹⁾ and attributes her inspiration to the Gods. She believes in the divine origin of all things; art is the Gods' gift to her, while Phaon on the other hand has received physical distinction. These Gods, she believes, are responsible for originating her artistic inspiration - what comes after, the actual creating of art, she performs herself with ease and entirely unconsciously. An example of Sappho's creative activity is seen at the end of Act I, when she expresses automatically and spontaneously her vision of Aphrodite. The stage direction shows clearly her effortless method of creating:

(Sie legt in Gedanken versunken die Stirn in die Hand, dann setzt sie sich auf die Rasenbank und nimmt die Leier in den Arm..)

Many heroes are, like Grillparzer's Sappho, unconscious of the moment of their inspiration and attribute their⁽²⁾ talent to an external divinity. While Sappho looked to her Gods for inspiration, the hero of A.W.Griesel's Albrecht Dürer prays to the Christian God for help in his

(1) A similar attitude is maintained by the heroine of Gubitz's Sappho.

(2) For instance, the heroes of J.Ch.Freiherr von Zedlitz: Kerker und Krone (1833) and H.Th.Schmid: Camoens (1853).

work. The artist-hero of Friedrich Kind's Van Dyck's Landleben (1818) belongs to a similar period and
 (1)
 personifies his inspiration in a similar way.

Whatever the nature of the divinity itself, however, which the artist-hero may conceive to be the inspiring force, many features of its power recur in the various presentations. To Sappho, for instance, the urge to create is irresistible. At the beginning of the drama she feels that she has mistaken her vocation in life and desires to transform herself into an ordinary woman. Grillparzer shows her struggling against her own nature in an attempt to become normal, but gradually realising that she cannot reject her inspiration and that art is an undeniable force in her life. This quality of her inspiration Sappho explains in terms of its divine origin; the Gods command her to create and she may not disobey. Her internal struggle she interprets not as occurring within her but as between herself and the Gods. Just as Sappho translates her inner urge into terms of the divine command, so does the hero of L.F.Deinhardstein's Hans Sachs (1829):

(1) As do also the heroes of G.C.Braun's Rafael Sanzio von Urbino (1819) and Heinrich Laube's Die Karlsschüler.

'Hab ich's gesucht, hab' ich's gewollt,

'Dasz ich ein Dichter werden sollt'!

'Wie Gott der Blume gibt den Duft,...

'Wie Er den Baum mit Früchten schmückt,

'Hat gnädig Er auf mich geblickt;..

'Was ich vermag, begehrt' ich nie,

'Mir ward's, ich selber weisz nicht wie?!' (III,ii)

In two later dramas, Theodor Goldammer's Petrarca und Laura and Wilhelm von Wartenegg's Mozart (1893) the artistic inspiration is spoken of similarly as 'eine Sendung'. An obvious corollary of this conception of divine mission is the artist's unconsciousness as regards the method of his creation. This aspect is emphasised in F.A. Gelbcke's Albrecht Dürers Tod (1836):

'Ich bin nicht Herr der eignen Thaten mehr,...

'Sobald der Herr mich ruft, musz ich ihm folgen..' (1)

(II, iv).

Another aspect of inspiration which Sappho explains by reference to an external divine force, is its monopolising effect. She realises this feature of inspiration

(1) A similar attitude is seen in Louise Brachmann: Die Muse und die Sänger. (In Taschenbuch für das Jahr 1814. Frankfurt am Mayn).

particularly clearly - as an artist she receives inspiration, thereby loses her independence and becomes incapable of any other kind of life than that of dedication to art. The feeling that she is bound forever to create art, Sappho explains by acknowledging the all-powerful influence of the Gods:

'Wen Götter sich zum Eigentum erlesen,

'Geselle sich zu Erdenbürgern nicht,' (III, ii)-

a thought which is echoed by the Gräfin in Laube's Die Karlsschüler in her description of an artist:

'Gottes vorbehaltenes Eigentum.' (IV, iii).

In Sappho, too, Rhamnes' last words emphasise this attitude:

'Sie ist zurück gekehret zu den Ihren!' (V, vi).

In the earlier drama on Sappho by F.W.Gubitz, the heroine talks of 'meine sel'ge Heimath' (Sappho. ed.cit.p.175); this thought recurs in S.Wiese's Beethoven (1836), where it is said of the artist:

'Doch seine Heimat ist nicht hier.' (III, ii). (1)

In one drama, Hauptmann's Die versunkene Glocke, the belief that God is the source of artistic power is presented on two different levels. The normal inhabitants of the valley are firm in their blind faith in the divine origin

(1) See also Karl Stein: Shakespeares Bestimmung ; J.D. Hoffmann: Tasso's Tod (1834).

of art. They regard artistic inspiration in a religious light and endow Heinrich's personality and work with religious significance. (1) The belief that the artist is 'im Dienst des Höchsten' (II), is shared by Heinrich himself. He believes in God as the originator of his initial inspiration, as the power behind the moment of his vision. As far as the method of his creation is concerned, however, Heinrich shows himself to be intensely aware of his own part in the process. After the initial inspiration, God, he believes, leaves the artist free to do what he can with it. The artist is God's work of art; once 'created', however, he is his own master and able to work consciously according to his talent. Heinrich thus regards himself as God's own creation. As a work of art he has, however, failed to reach perfection:

'Ich traure nicht, dasz mich der Glockengieszer,
 'der mich nicht besser schuf, itzund verwirft;
 'und als, dem eignen, schlechten Werke nach,
 'er mich so machtvoll in den Abgrund stiesz,
 'war mir's willkommen.' (II).

Believing himself cast adrift by the God who inspired him, Heinrich sets about ordering his life and creating art on

(1) See above Chapter II A, p. 21 ff.

his own responsibility. He breaks away from the pious, God-fearing life of the valley and consciously seeks his ideal in the mountain-world. Inspiration alone appears to him to have an external origin - his method of creation is evolved within himself.

Heinrich's belief that the artist is himself responsible for at least part of the creation of his art is typical of the outlook of the later 19th century. ⁽¹⁾ Many artist-heroes of that period are indeed shown to hold that

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- (1) Many heroes of artist-dramas in the later 19th century, however, cloak their awareness of the internal source of inspiration in a traditional, external personification - the Muse. In some dramas the Muse appears thus as an actual acting character - for instance, in Rudolph Genée's Die Geburt des Dichters (1859); Emil Hopffer's Der Wildschütz vom Avon (1864); Wilhelm von Wartenegg's Mozart. In other dramas, the artist shows his firm belief in the Muse as the embodiment of the inspiring force - for instance, S. Wiese: Beethoven; Karl Sondershausen: Pegasus im Joche (1859); Eduard Mohr: Die Entzweiten Musen (Festspiel in 3 Scenen. Gegeben in Amsterdam bei der Shakespeare-Feier am 23. April 1864); S. H. Mosenthal: Ein deutsches Dichterleben; O. Haupt: Hans Sachs (1890).

the initial inspiration as well as the method of creation is to be found not in some external source but within themselves. To such heroes, the artistic process is in a varying degree conscious. Some realise vaguely, intuitively, that their inspiration grows up within them naturally and spontaneously. They recognise, if only half-consciously, that they themselves and not an external force, are the originators of their art. This conception of inspiration had already been expressed by the hero of an early drama, C.S.Schier's Der Künste Morgenröthe. He contemplates a cathedral and says:

'...-Wie aus dem Boden

'Viel tausend Blumen sprieszen in der Dämm' rung

'So sprossen aus dem frommen Grund der Herzen

'Die heil'gen Phantasien, diese Werke...'(scene i).

In H.Th.Schmid's Rafael is seen a dawning awareness of the source of artistic power - 'Des Geistes...schöpferische
(1)
Macht.-' (scene iv).

In the dramas written during the period when a realistic outlook was predominant, a striking feature is the heroes' awareness of their artistic process. One

(1) Similar examples of this awareness may be seen in Karl Stein's Shakespeares Bestimmung

artist who clearly creates with his mind and does not consider the possibility of external, uncontrollable inspiration, is the hero of Hebbel's Der Dichter. Here is an artist who regards himself not as a divinely inspired, abnormally favoured man, but as a human being who relies on his own talents to create, unaided, a work of art. He is not the blind, helpless instrument by means of which a god transmits his message to the world. He is an active artist, aware of the purpose and process of his creation. It is not however the intellect alone which is shown in this drama as responsible for the artist's inspiration. Hebbel's hero is 'als Mensch und Poet gleich groß' (section 4) - the personality and moral stature of this artist help thus to form his art.⁽¹⁾ A similar thought is expressed in Karl Gutzkow's Der Königsleutnant (1849):

'Wenn ein Bild nicht die Spuren eines Menschen trägt, der sich allein und nur sich in den Farben aussprechen wollte, so sinkt es zur Tapete herab, zum leeren Decorationsbilde.' (IV, xvii);

(1) See also section 8:

'...dass jede künstlerische Grösze die allgemeine menschliche voraus setzt, und dass man nicht den Hamlet dichten und ein Shylock sein kann,...'

and in the same way, the hero of Ernst von Wildenbruch's Christoph Marlow (1884) salutes Shakespeare as a great man rather than as an artist. Creating thus by the effort of his own mind and personality, Hebbel's artist-hero regards himself in relation to his work as a god - a great Creator. Where many heroes, as was seen above, look to an external source for inspiration, Hebbel's hero believes that no one but himself creates his art:

'Ich, einsam, wie Gott:...' (section 11),

and conceives his masterpiece as:

'mein armes, der trostlosesten Zukunft entgegen
(1)
gehendes Kind..' (section 5).

In Der Dichter, too, the hero is clearly aware of the method by which he creates, as well as of the moment of his inspiration. He finds the stimulus in personal contact with the world in which he lives and, by selection of his experiences there, he constructs on

(1) See also Karl Gutzkow: Lorber und Myrte; Carl Heckel: Friederike von Sesenheim (1880).

(1)
 that basis a work of art. He is inspired by his native-land, by its tradition and legend, by its present situation and danger. Stimulated by this emotion, he creates a work of art whose subject is of national importance and whose message is intended for the contemporary public. Other artist-heroes, appearing in dramas of the mid- and later century, are shown in similar fashion to derive their inspiration from their geographical and national background. The artist in Charlotte Birch-Pfeiffer's Rubens in Madrid and in Ludwig van Beethoven, by a Bonn citizen, asserts that it is vain for a Fleming or a German to attempt to break away from national influences in his art. Goethe in L.F? Deinhardstein's Fürst und Dichter (1851) says:

'Den Künstler macht nicht sein Talent allein, auch seine Umgebung' (IV, ii).

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- (1) This method of selection is seen also in Theodor Goltammer's Petrarca und Laura:

'Vor ihm die Welt, des Lebens reicher Wechsel,

'Der Blüthenschmuck der schaffenden Natur;

'Der Seele Spiegel in ihm selbst, in dem

'Sich diese Welt in tausend Bildern malt;

'Aus ihnen wählt er sinnend bald

'Und bald mit der Begeistrung raschem Zuge,...' (II,v)

The phrase 'sinnend bald' implies that it is possible for the artist to derive his inspiration consciously by an analysable mental process.

The hero of Goltdammer's Petrarca und Laura is another who finds inspiration in his native-land, and Camoens in H.Th.Schmid's drama says:

'Umwehe mich, du milde Luft der Heimat,

'Du blauer Himmel,...

'Rauscht um mich her, ihr riesenhaften Pinien,

'Und haucht Begeist' rung in die Seele mir:'

(Camoens. II, v).

These artist-heroes are inspired by their contact with the world, through the sentiment which their native-land arouses in them. Many more, however, derive their inspiration from other aspects of that contact.

Possibly the most frequently presented aspect of the artist's contact with the world is the physical impact of external phenomena upon him. Fernando in the drama by C.U.Boehlendorff, for instance, is inspired by the sunset:

'O nun, mein Aug'! was weilst du? Sieh! ergreife

'Und fessele diesen Strahl - auf diese Leinwand

'Wirf ihn, in siebenfache Glut getaucht -'

(Fernando. I, i).

The hero of F.A.Gelbcke's Albrecht Dürers Tod expresses a similar conception of inspiration:

'Natur ist ja des Malers Lehrerin,
'Die Quell' aus der er schöpft.' (II, v). (1)

In Grillparzer's words: 'Die Kunst verhält sich zur
Natur wie der Wein zur Traube.' (2) That the artist's
attitude to nature need take no account of the emotional
content of phenomena is the conviction of Rubens in
Birch-Pfeiffer's drama. He finds his inspiration not in
the emotion which he feels for a woman, but solely in
the contemplation of her beauty from an impersonal point
of view:

'Nicht um die Frau, die glühend ich verehere,
'Durch Sinnentaumel zu entwürd'gen, wage
'Ich Alles...
'Nicht Händedruck, nicht Kusz, nicht Liebesseufzer
'Ersehne ich - Ihr himmelklares Bild
'Allein ist's, was ich ihr entreiszen will...'

(Rubens in Madrid. II, vii).

Many artist-heroes, and especially poets and actors
as opposed to painters, are shown, however, to obtain
their inspiration from the deep passions which contact

(1) See also Wilhelm von Chézy: Petrarca; J.D.Hoffmann:
Tasso's Tod; Karl Gutzkow: Richard Savage (1839).

(2) Tagebücher IV. No.3502. (Herbst 1839). In Werke. ed.
cit. Abt.II, vol.x, p.293.

with the world arouses in them, rather than from any purely sensuous emotions which they may feel. Of the passions which in this way stimulate them to create, that most frequently treated is love. To compare Rubens' attitude to a woman, as seen above, with that of L.F. Deinhardstein's Pigault Lebrun, is to be convinced of the vast difference between the sources of their inspiration. While the sight alone of Ellena's beauty is sufficient to inspire Rubens, the painter, Pigault, the actor, requires experience of passion to awaken his aesthetic imagination:

'Jetzt bin ich Künstler! Ihrer Lippen Glut

'Gibt mir Bewusstsein, das Bewusstsein Muth.

'Der heut'ge Tag ist meiner Weihe Tag,

'Bald weisz die Welt, was ich in ihr vermag!'

(Pigault Lebrun (1845) IV, ii).

Similarly, in Die Karlsschüler, Laube's artist-hero finds himself transformed into a real poet by the love of a woman:

'Ich bin geliebt, und nun bin ich auch ein

(1)

Dichter!' (III, viii).

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- (1) See also F.W. Gubitz: Sappho; Friedrich von Heyden: Apelles (1819); A.W. Griesel: Albrecht Dürer; Wilhelm von Chézy: Petrarca; Karl Gutzkow: Lorber und Myrte

Among the other emotional states which appear in the artist-dramas as the source of artistic inspiration are happiness, as in the case of L.F. Deinhardstein's Garrick in Bristol (1834) (I, ii); excitement, as in H.Th. Schmid's Rafael (scene ii); hatred, as in the case of Dante in Albert Lindner's Dante Alighieri (1855).

Another condition which is regarded by some artist-heroes—mostly those of late-19th-century dramas—as essential for inspiration is freedom from emotional constraint. Many demand permission to create what they please, at whatever time they choose, without pressure or hindrance from their fellowmen. Here is no desire that the artist should cut himself off from human intercourse, but merely that he should be spared the embittering interference of the uninitiated or any unnecessary restraint. The thoughts which Grillparzer thus expresses: 'Das Genie gleicht der Glocke; frei im reinen Aether muss sie schweben wenn sie tönen soll, wie fremde Körper sie berühren verstummt ihr heitrer Schall.'⁽¹⁾ — these thoughts are presented in many artist-dramas.⁽²⁾ Some artist-heroes are shown to

(1) Tagebücher. I. (p.21). 1809. In Werke ed.cit. Abt.II, vol. vii. *℄*

(2) See F.Ferdinand Kieszling: Ein Tag aus Shakespeare's Leben; Friedrich Geszler: Reinhold Lenz (1899); Ludwig van Beethoven von einem Bonner; Leonhart Wohlmuth: Goethe im Elsass (1871).

derive their inspiration less from a single sensuous or passionate contact with the world than from the sum-⁽¹⁾ total of such contacts - from their whole life among men. One aspect of the artist's experience in the world which is repeatedly regarded as the source of inspiration is the pain which he suffers in the course of his life. He may deplore the sufferings which are thus forced upon him, but none the less he realises, in many cases, that this agony does engender in him creative power. Schiller in Laube's Die Karlsschüler quotes Orpheus as an artist thus inspired by suffering and says of his own case:

'Damit ich ein Gedicht machen kann, musz ich unsäglichen Schmerz erfahren. Denn wer nicht mit seinem Herzblut und seinen Tränen schreibt, den nennen sie⁽²⁾ keinen Dichter!' (V, 11).

Many artist-heroes are thus, like the poet in Der Dichter, aware that their inspiration arises out of their

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- (1) See for instance Theodor Halm: Camoens; Karl Gutzkow: Richard Savage and Der Königsleutnant; Georg Zimmermann: Theodor Körner (1863); Georg Hick: Shakespeare und Southampton (1875); Fritz Volger: Im lustigen Alt-England (1886).
- (2) See also Theodor Halm: Camoens; H.Th.Schmid: Rafael; Theodor Goltdammer: Petrarca und Laura; Albert Lindner: William Shakspeare (1864).

contact with the external world, and assume a conscious and purposeful attitude to their creation. Most of these heroes are found in dramas written in the period when the Realistic outlook was predominant. When one considers the later dramas, produced in the years of symbolism and aestheticism, however, one finds heroes who ~~who~~, though equally conscious and equally purposeful, regard their inspiration as springing from quite an opposite source - namely their lack of contact with the world. Their method of creation, far from being a conscious selection from experience, is the conscious avoidance of it, withdrawal from the world and cultivation in solitude of the aesthetic attitude. In contrast to those who consider artistic inspiration to be of entirely external origin, heroes of this type appear fully conscious of their process and dominate their art completely. They consider themselves by no means blind slaves of inspiration but independent creators.

Hauptmann's Heinrich in Die versunkene Glocke, as was seen, considers himself abandoned by God after His initial act of inspiration, and consciously seeks to create art by his own effort. The method which he adopts in his search for the ideal is disregard of the world and reliance

solely upon his talent. Heinrich leaves the world of ignorant, normal men and desires only to live a life of complete dedication to art. He cuts himself off gladly from his wife and enters into a new life in the mountain-world, loving Rautendelein for her artistic significance, working passionately to create a perfect bell and blotting out all memories of his past existence. Heinrich is however unable to maintain this attitude of detachment as far as the normal world is concerned. His children call to him, thoughts of his dead wife overpower him and he can no longer remain in isolation with his art.

One artist-hero who succeeds in keeping himself aloof from the world is Claudio in Hofmannsthal's Der Tor und der Tod. He has withdrawn himself constantly from contact with the world and is happy to live as a hermit, studying and contemplating, with no interference from his fellowmen. He is no longer regarded as unusual by his neighbours - they have long since become used to his retiring habits. He neither offers nor seeks human companionship. His mother is merely a housekeeper to him, caring for his physical welfare and demanding nothing in return; a girl is his toy until she bores him; his friend is useful to Claudio and nothing more. In no way

does Claudio consider himself a man among others. He is a hermit who shuns contact with men on their own level and remains aloof in the belief that art flourishes in isolation. This attitude towards inspiration is represented by many other artist-heroes of the late 19th century.⁽¹⁾ Johannes in Hauptmann's Einsame Menschen (1891), for instance, expresses the desire for single-minded concentration on art.⁽²⁾ Another of Hauptmann's dramas, Michael Kramer (1900) presents the following conception of art and its creation:

'Kunst ist Religion. Wenn du betest, geh in dein Kämmerlein. Wechsler und Händler raus aus dem Tempel.' (II) Elsewhere in the same drama, it is said of a work of art:

'Das wächst nur aus Einsiedeleien auf! Das Eigne, das Echte, Tiefe und Kräftige, das wird nur in Einsiedeleien geboren. Der Künstler ist immer der wahre Einsiedler.' (II).

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- (1) One source of inspiration open to such hermit-artists is the study of literature. Goltammer's Petrarca, Birch-Pfeiffer's Rubens and F.W.Ziegler's Cellini all advocate the stimulus of contemplating the old masters.
- (2) See also Wilhelm von Chézy's Petrarca; Ernst von Wildenbruch's Christoph Marlow.

As a result of this conception of the artistic process, many artist-heroes are shown, like Claudio, actually becoming hermits, shunning the company of other men in order to devote themselves to their art. Some however appear to feel guilty in withdrawing themselves from their worldly responsibilities. Heinrich in Karl von Holtei's Lorbeerbaum und Bettelstab (1840), for instance, is constantly torn between his duty to his art and his obligations to his family - the one excluding the other, in his opinion. Heinrich in Die versunkene Glocke, too, harbours such a feeling of guilt at first subconsciously and later positively. Many heroes, on the other hand, have no qualms in cutting themselves adrift from the world. Claudio is an example of this type of artist, as is Frank Wedekind's Gerardo in Der Kammersänger (1897). Johannes in Hauptmann's Einsame Menschen, when challenged:

'Du kannst doch nicht leugnen, dasz du gewisse Verpflichtungen gegen deine Familie hast' shows in his reply that he has the outlook of the typical hermit-artist:

'Du kannst doch nicht leugnen, dasz ich gewisse Verpflichtungen gegen mich selbst habe'. (III).

The heroes of most 19th-century artist-dramas conceive the creative process as consisting of two stages, of

which the first is inspired vision. It has been seen that this first stage is conceived by the heroes in a variety of ways, and they differ also as regards their approach to the final stage of creation - the expression of the inspiration. One large group of artist-heroes see no difficulties or problems whatsoever attached to the expression of art. To many, however, this subject presents a variety of problems. The question: does a work of art exist as an internal inspiration alone or is it complete only when expressed externally in terms of a medium?; the difficulties which arise out of the handling of the medium itself; the relationship to be established between internal and external values; - such interrelated problems arise repeatedly for many artist-heroes and underlie the differences in their conception of artistic expression.

Artistic expression appears as a simple and uncomplicated process in some dramas, as a result of the hero's particular conception of it. One attitude towards expression which does in this way simplify it, is that seen in a few dramas of the early 19th century - expression being regarded there as an end in itself. The heroes are shown to value the externals of art for their

own sake and to seek in them the essence of art itself. Many artists are thus shown to care nothing for the sincerity of the original vision, believing that anything expressed in terms of an artistic medium is art - they wish only to put something on paper or canvas and sell the product for money. In A.W.Griesel's Albrecht Dürer one aspiring artist in his definition of the artistic process omits to give any place to inspiration. The artists who are presented thus are, however, without exception treated ironically, the error of their views, the false ease of their expression being exposed by contrast or by the criticism implicit in the manner of their presentation.

Ease of expression, viewed from a different angle however, is enjoyed by the heroes of more significant dramas than those already mentioned. They conceive expression not as the beginning and end of art, but as the second and final stage in the creative process. External expression appears to them to be the ultimate goal of their art, but they insist that genuine inspiration should precede it. To Agrippina in C.S.Schier's Der Künste Morgenröthe the art is incomplete unless externally expressed, but is founded on true vision:

'Der Stein, die Farbe, und der freie Ton

'Sind ird'sche Stralen von dem ew'gen Lichte:

'Das Eine woll'n sie ehren im Gedichte.

'- Das ist die Kunst! - Sie will im Erdenleben

'Ein Abbild von dem Göttlichen uns geben,...'

(1)

(scene iv).

Artists such as Agrippina, who believe the creative process to consist of inspiration which culminates automatically and necessarily in expression, appear frequently in the dramas. They obviously find no difficulty in creating an external form for their vision and indeed do so unconsciously. As soon as they have been inspired, as soon as they have seen their vision, they are overwhelmed by the inner urge to express it, and effect the transition from internal to external activity without hesitation or struggle. Karl Stein's Shakespeare in Shakespeares Bestimmung speaks in this way of:

'...meine Lieder,

'Die mir warm im Busen quellen,

'In die Welt hinaus zu hauchen;' (scene i),

while A.W.Griesel's artist-hero presents a true artist's emotion thus, thereby shedding light on his method of

(1) See also Karl Stein: Die armen Maler; Karl Gutzkow: Richard Savage.

expression:

'So wär' es eitel Lug und Trug,

'Was in des Künstlers Herzen schlug,

'Wenn er, von seinem Bild umfängen,

'Im heiszen, heiligen Verlangen,

'Es aus sich selbst zu geben brannt'...' (scene ii)

Here is clearly no obsession with the medium, nor indeed any consciousness of the process by which internal vision is translated into external form. This form is held to be an integral part of the artist's vision - neither is complete until a fusion in artistic terms has taken place:
(1)

'Die Form ist keine Kette...

'Dem Künstler aber gab der Gott die Form,

'Und sie erhebt ihn, wie ein Flügelpaär.'

(Petrarca. IV, iii) -

so says the hero of Wilhelm von Chézzy's drama, showing his belief in external form as an organic part of inspiration.

The most important artist-drama in which is seen this conception of expression is Grillparzer's Sappho. The heroine esteems inspiration highly, but cannot conceive of it apart from its external presentation in terms of a medium - in her case lyric poetry. She is unaware of

(1) See also C.U.Boehendorff: Fernando; H.Th.Schmid:

any difficulty in expressing herself; her vision translates itself easily and spontaneously into external form. Once inspired, Sappho cannot help completing the process and communicating her vision to others in the form of a work of art. Sappho, unlike most artist-heroes, is actually seen in the act of creating. Her natural and unconscious power of expression is seen in her prayer to Aphrodite at the end of Act I, when she pours out with the utmost ease and fluency the inspiration of the moment. Similarly in her long, poetic monologue at the beginning of Act IV and in her prayer to the Gods in the last scene of the drama, the artistic form presents itself naturally as the complement of her inspiration. For her, as for Chézy's Petrarca, form cannot be separated from inspiration, the one merely completing the other and rendering it intelligible.

To Sappho and to most artist-heroes of the early 19th century, the act of expression is accomplished with ease, the creation of an external form being to them the second and final stage in the artistic process, and the inevitable outcome of inspiration. This conception is, however, not acceptable to many heroes; while they believe such expression to be the necessary complement of internal vision,

they insist that vision does not translate itself easily into terms of the medium. What to Sappho is an effortless process is to them a difficult problem to be solved consciously. It is the artist's duty, they believe, to seek the external form most fitting to the inspiration. One corollary of this conception is obvious - while Sappho regards inspiration and expression as aspects of the same process, the hero of Hebbel's Der Dichter, for instance, together with most artist-heroes of mid-century dramas, considers the two aspects as separate and conscious processes. Not only must he evolve his inspiration for himself; he must then tackle the problem of translating it into tangible terms.

The artist who thus approaches the question of expression as a problem finds a variety of difficulties in his path. The more conscious he is of the process, the more difficult he finds his task. One aspect of expression which presents a problem to many artists is the necessity of transmitting accurately the original vision. Emphasis is given to this question, for instance, in Theodor Goltzdammer's Petrarca und Laura where the artist's duty is defined thus:

'Dasz er in schönre Form die Wirklichkeit,

'Des Lebens wechselnde Gestaltung kleidet,
'Und sie veredelnd über sich erhebt.' (II, i). (1)

In the artist's endeavour to communicate his vision in this way, one difficulty presents itself in many cases - a personal element interposes itself **between inspiration and expression**. Many artists are forced to come to grips with this problem in their desire to find the best

- (1) The conscious difficulty of finding the right external form for internal inspiration is expressed particularly clearly by G^othe in E. Henle's Aus G^othes lustigen Tagen (1878):

'Er meint, **wie** eben alle Leute meinen,
'Es liesze sich so dichten, fort und fort,
'Gleichwie der Schreiner - oder Schlossermeister,
'Vom frühen Morgen bis zur späten Nacht.
'Das Material, das wir zur Arbeit brauchen,
'Liegt nicht, wie jenes, jeder Zeit bereit.
'Oft haben wir in unserm Geiste schon
'Das Riesenwerk vollendet, bis zur That.
'Da schreckt die Prosa uns in unserm Schaffen,
'Ein einzig Wort 'die Suppe' und davon,
'Verflogen ist die Lust - das Material.'

(IV, iv).

possible form for their vision. They recognise that, in externalising it, they do so through a veil of personal experience and express not only the vision itself but their interpretation of it, their outlook, life and personality. This problem is very real to the hero of Goldammer's Petrarca und Laura:

'Denn, was ich hab gesungen, war ich selbst;

'Aus meinem eignen Leben hat mein Lied

'In heissem Seelenkampf sich losgerungen,

'Ein Theil von mir, von meinem eignen Leben.'

(1)

(III, vi).

The degree of awareness with which the artist-heroes regard this particular problem of expression varies greatly, but as a problem it appears frequently.

In many cases where the artist's consciousness as regards his creative process is in a developed state, artistic expression is presented as being not only a difficult and problematic but also a painful process. Heroes who have turned their back on easy, fluent expression in the belief that it must be consciously sought maintain a continual struggle with the medium. H.Th. Schmid in his drama on Rafael emphasises this aspect of

(1) See also Karl Gutzkow: Der Königsleutnant for examples of this attitude.

expression - the hero, convinced that his art demands an external form, yet finds its creation torment:

Fornarina (to Rafael):

'...Mein Freund,

'Ermüde nicht! Durchkämpfe diese Stunde!

'So schwer sie ist - sie wird vorübergehn,...'

(Rafael, scene ii).

This thought is echoed by Goltdammer's Petrarca:

'Doch dieses Schaffen ist geheimes Leid,...'

(Petrarca und Laura. II, v).

The epilogue to Ludwig van Beethoven by a Bonn citizen throws further light on this aspect of artistic creation:

'Ihr preist ihn glücklich? - wer so Groszes schafft,

'Wem fort und fort so Herrliches gelingt,

'Wie selig der! - O wüßtet Ihr die Schmerzen,

'Die Tag für Tag durch seine Seele flossen,

'Die er als Kaufpreis für sein Schaffen zahlt-' (1)

The hero of Hebbel's Der Dichter is a clear example of the artist to whom expression is the ultimate goal of artistic vision but who is conscious of the many difficulties entailed in its achievement. He is faced

(1) See also Friedrich Halm: Camoens; Rudolph Genée: Die Geburt des Dichters.

with the need to communicate his vision, it being of national interest and contemporary importance. The painful nature of expression does not receive emphasis in this drama, but instead, interest is focussed on a related aspect - the great ecstasy which an artist may experience through his victory over the medium, his endurance of pain and his final creation of a complete work of art. In no other drama is this aspect of creation so clearly presented as here. Hebbel's artist attributes special importance to the completed work, by reason of its difficulty of achievement. The greatest deed conceivable to him is the conquering of the artistic medium and the creation of a work of art:

'Thaten? Was sind denn Thaten? Kunstwerke und wissenschaftliche Entdeckungen!' (section 10).

As a result, the accomplishment of this deed naturally fills him with joy; after the struggle with the medium he feels overwhelming relief. If a fluent artist such as Sappho is spared the pain of struggling to express, she also misses the relief and joy which Hebbel's hero experiences:

'Die Schöpfer-Freuden..' (section 4),
and again, rejoicing in the power which enables him to

complete his work:

'...mir ward die Kraft,...' (section 5).

In some dramas the struggle to express is presented as not only affording the artist relief and ecstasy but also as a genuine cure for his mental and emotional strain. The famous words of Goethe's Tasso in this connection find many an echo in the 19th-century artist-dramas. Goldammer's Petrarca, for instance, emphasises the healing aspect of external expression:

'Doch mir lieb Gott zugleich die Dichtergabe,
'Und mit allmächt'ger Kraft treibt sie mich hin,
'Im Lied der Welt zu sagen, was ich fühle.'
(1)
(Petrarca und Laura. II, vi).

(1) Also in Petrarca und Laura, a similar reminiscence of Tasso:

'Im Liede mich zu trösten war mein Ziel,...'

(III, vi),

and again:

Hugo, a layman (to Petrarca):

'Dir gab ein Gott, die Tugend zu verkünden,
'Auch für den Schmerz wird er Gesang Dir geben,
'Der Deine Wehmuth mächtig übertönt,
'Ich aber trage schweigend nur mein ^eLied.'

(V, iii).

The hero of Albert Lindner's drama on Shakespeare sheds light on the same problem:

'...Kam das Herz

'Schwarz wie der Gram und schmutzig wie das Laster,

'Es kehrte schneeweisz, schuldlos wie die Kinder.

'Aus ihren Götterhänden kehrt der Schmerz

'Nur halb zurück, doch doppelt alle Freude.

'So gnadenreich ist alle Poesie.'

(1)

(William Shakspeare. I, vi).

Yet another result of the artist's triumph over medium and completion of a work of art is seen in Hebbel's Michel Angelo. Here the hero is less aware of the relief afforded by expression or of its healing power, than of the

(1) See also J.D.Hoffmann: Tasso's Tod:

'Nur wenn er dichtete, fand er sich wieder,

'Da war das holde Gleichmasz hergestellt,

'Und nicht ein Friede, wie er hier uns grüsst,

'Ein sel'ger Himmelsfriede war's, der ihn

'Umflosz.' (IV, i).

Other examples of this thought may be seen in H.Th.Schmid: Camoens; Elise Schmidt: Der Genius und die Gesellschaft (1856); Ludwig van Beethoven von einem Bonner: Georg Hick: Shakespeare und Southampton.

sudden clarification which his vision undergoes as a result of its externalisation:

'Nun bist Du vollendet, mein Meisterstück,
 'Und ich genieße mein höchstes Glück,
 'Das Glück, zu wissen, warum ich geschwitzt
 'Und mich so viel Tage erhitzt!' (I).

A similar idea is expressed by Bradley in the words:

'If the poet already knew exactly what he meant to say, why should he write the poem?...For only its completion can reveal, even to him, exactly what he wanted.'⁽¹⁾

In the various conceptions of artistic expression which have been seen above, the artists, whether easily or with a struggle, do succeed finally in finding an external form worthy of containing their vision. Sappho and the hero of Hebbel's Der Dichter, however different may be their method of expression, share the same goal - the completion of a work of art - and rejoice in achieving it. Some artists, and mostly those of late-19th-century dramas, find however that the problem of expression is too great, and fail to accomplish the final stage in their artistic process through inability to find the perfect form for their vision. In their

(1) A.C.Bradley: Oxford Lectures on Poetry. London, 1923. p.23.

struggle with the medium, the medium defeats them. The reasons for this defeat are varied. In some dramas, the cause of the artist's failure to express himself is shown to lie in his talent itself. His technical powers are simply inadequate to express the greatness of his inspiration. Many are the heroes who value that inspiration so highly that their attempts to express it appear ridiculous and presumptuous:

'Denn was ich G8ttlich's sah,...

'Ich hab' es nicht, denn ich kanns nicht gebrauchen,

'Denn meine Hand starrt,...

'Je mehr ich sah, je scheuer meine Hand,

'Je zitternder die farbige Erscheinung.'

(1)

(C.U.Boehllendorff: Fernando. I, ii).

Apart from this feeling of sheer impotence as a creator, many an artist is constantly disappointed with the results of his efforts and despairs to see his achievements fall so far short of the original vision. ⁽²⁾ Galeotto, a drama by Paul Lindau, contains this expression of the artist's disappointment:

(1) See also H.Th.Schmid: Rafael, scene ii:

'Wohl f8hl' ich, was ich kann - doch dieses Bild -

'Dasz ich das nicht kann, f8hl' ich auch, und diesz

'Bewusstsein t8dtet mich.'

(2) (Drama in drei Acten und einem Vorspiel. In Schau- und Lustspiele. Breslau, 1888).

'Ich fühle es in mir deutlich: es regt sich, es bewegt sich, es hat Inhalt und Licht, und sobald ich es bannen will, sobald ich ihm die feste Gestalt auf dem Papier geben will, verflüchtigt es, das Licht erlischt, es bleibt nichts übrig...Dieser entsetzliche Abstand zwischen Wollen und Vollbringen.' (Vorspiel, scene i). In the drama by Otto von der Pfordten, Michel-Angelo speaks in similar fashion to the Cardinal:

'Herr, es ist bitter, seiner Kraft bewusst

'Allein zu stehn mit kargem Hoffnungslicht,

'Mit jenem Sehnen nach der Schönheit Bild,

'Der Inbrunst, das Geschaute wahr zu machen,

'Mit heissem Drang, zu schaffen, zu gestalten -

'Und nicht zu Worte kommen, nicht zu That,...'

(Michel-Angelo. scene iv).

The drama which treats most clearly this particular aspect of the problem of expression is Hauptmann's Die versunkene Glocke. Here is the type of artist who, valuing inspiration most highly, is consequently dissatisfied with his attempts at translating it into external terms. Heinrich has in his mind a vision - a clear conception of the sound of the ideal bell. That sound ~~w~~hoing in Rautendelein's voice attracts him to her -

she recalls to him his original artistic inspiration. He has already attempted to create this ideal in external form; the bell which he produced however, while acclaimed by the ignorant villagers, does not satisfy Heinrich. He compares it with the ideal which lives in his mind and is only too aware of the imperfections and inadequacy of his expression:

'dies Meisterstück zu tun, miszlang mir immer' (I),
and again:

'...Ja, mein Werk war schlecht:

'die Glocke, Magda, die hinunterfiel,

'sie war nicht für die Höhen - nicht gemacht,

'den Wiederschall der Gipfel aufzuwecken.' (II).

In his search for the ideal artistic form which has eluded him, Heinrich enters the mountain-world of art itself. From the first, however, although he himself is hopeful of reaching the desired goal, he receives no encouragement from the inhabitants. They ridicule his attempts to grasp the ideal. Heinrich, being a man, will never succeed in creating the ideal in art - he will always retain some human elements which will prevent him from expressing accurately his great inspiration. Internally he may possess the ideal, but human powers can

never express it in a perfect form:

Nickelmann:

'...Der Mensch, das ist ein Ding,

'das sich von ungefähr bei uns verdingt:

'von dieser Welt und doch ^{auch} nicht von ihr.' (I).

The Waldschrat expresses a similar opinion of Heinrich's fortunes in the ideal world:

' Die Zeit geht ihren Gang

'und Mensch bleibt Mensch...' (III)

Not only does expression appear to Heinrich to be a difficult process - he discovers its complete achievement to be an impossibility.

This conception of expression as an insoluble problem is found in several artist-dramas of the later 19th century. Many heroes, realising that human expression is necessarily an imperfect substitute for the original vision, resign themselves to the hopelessness of their effort. External form can at best merely approximate to the artist's intention. This thought appears in an early drama - the hero of C.S. Schier's Raphael Mengs (1822) longs in his work to achieve 'den Abstrahl nur' (I, i) of the vision which fills his mind; Byron in Elise Schmidt's Der Genius und die Gesellschaft sums up the artist's

highest achievement thus:

'nur einen schwachen Abrisz seines Ideals durch den Pinsel oder die Farbe zu geben.' (I, vi). Similarly Kleist in Wilhelm von Poënz's drama deplores the fact that none of his works 'gibt eine Ahnung davon, wie ich es empfunden.' (Heinrich von Kleist (1891) I, vi).

Abstrahl - Abrisz - Ahnung -, human expression can reflect only faintly the true colours of mental vision. (1)

- (1) A development of this conception is seen in earlier dramas whose hero, believing himself incapable of achieving the ideal work of art, regards God as the sole creator of perfection. Ludovico in Ernst Raupach's Tasso's Tod (1835) says:

'Nur enden kann der Mensch, doch nie vollenden'

(II, iii),

and he echoes the words of Walter in Georg Reinbeck's Der Dichter (Lustspiel in einer Abtheilung. In A.dr.W. IV. Coblenz, 1819):

'Vollendung ist kein Wort für Werke dieser Welt!'

(scene i).

The Baumeister in C.S.Schier's Der Künste Morgenröthe expresses a similar conviction:

'....-sieh, da wähnte ich,

'Ich hätte eine Welt in mir erzeugt,...

'Doch nur, wie es der ird'sche Mensch vermag.'

(scene ii).

In Martin Greif's Hans Sachs (1894), the character Albrecht Dürer maintains this attitude:

'Das Bild, das wir im Innern tragen,

'Erreichen wir im Bilde nie;

'Was Weise auch und Toren sagen,

'Nichts zur Völlendung je gedieh.' (II, i).

In cases where the process of expression is conceived as an insoluble problem and a task doomed from the beginning to failure, the evidence of the artist-dramas indicates two courses which may be followed. One of these courses is that pursued by the hero of S. Wiese's Beethoven. He believes perfection of expression to be unattainable to man - therefore man must devote his energies to striving, without hope of success, towards the ideal:

'Das Streben ist an uns, win Hòh'rer endet.' (I, v). ⁽¹⁾

Hebbel's Michel Angelo presents an artist who conceives his relationship to art in this way. He compares his life

(1) See also C.S. Schier: Der Künste Morgenròthe, (scene ii):

'Es giebt nur eine Kunst: sie ist das Streben,

'Das Gòttliche in Formen darzustellen -

'Das Streben blos, denn das Gelingen ist

'Des Menschen Werk auf Erden nun und nimmer.'

as an artist to that of a mountaineer, whenever he rests content:

'Gleich aber heisst es: weiter fort,...

'Den Gipfel, den erklimmt er nie,

'Er weicht, wie der Himmel, vor seinem Blick,

'Je höher er dringt, je weiter zurück.' (I).

So too, Heinrich in Die versunkene Glocke is an artist who conceives his duty to be continual striving after the unattainable ideal, while in Julius Grosse's drama on Dürer, the artist speaks thus of his art:

'Dem Tantalus ist meine Qual vergleichbar,

'Denn das Vollkommene bleibt mir unerreichbar!'

(Meister Dürers Erdenwallen (1871) scene vii)
(1)

In Hofmannsthal's Der Tod des Tizian, the artist embodies the attitude of striving towards the perfect expression without hope of attainment. Even on his deathbed he realises the imperfections of his past works of art and builds his hopes on his latest:

Page:

' Er sagt, er musz sie sehen..

'Die alten, die erbärmlichen, die bleichen,

(1) (Bruchstück. 1892. In Die Gedichte und kleinen Dramen.

Leipzig, 1930). See also Ernst Raupach: Tasso's Tod;

L.F.Deinhardstein: Salvator Rosa; Karl Stein: Die armen

Maler; G.C.Braun: Rafael Sanzio von Urbino; Wilhelm

von Chézy: Petrarca.

'Mit seinem neuen, das er malt, vergleichen...

'Es komme ihm ein unerhört Verstehen,

'Dasz er bis jetzt ein matter Stümper war...!'

(ed.cit. p.45).

For such artists, then, the problem of the inevitable imperfection of external artistic expression is solved by their attitude of striving. Some artists faced with the same problem do not however believe this continual but hopeless effort to be the best solution and put forward another course of action. As they believe vision to be incapable of expression at the hands of human beings, they prefer to keep this vision unexpressed, in its original unspoilt state. This is the attitude which Hofmannsthal's Der Tor und der Tod exposes. Claudio, the hero, values highly the inspiration which he receives. In his first monologue, we see him in a moment of heightened awareness, when the evening, nature and his fellowmen assume a new meaning for him. This experience Claudio does not translate into external terms, in order to perpetuate, communicate or clarify it. It is already clear in his mind and he needs no external medium to crystallise it further. His vision is already 'expressed' in his mind, and rather than sully it with imperfect

external presentation, he keeps it intact within himself. His art, so far as his fellowmen can judge, is limited to the passive appreciation of his antiques, instruments and pictures. The impressions which he receives are kept within his mind and communicated to no one, nor expressed in any ~~tangible~~ external form. A similar fear of unworthy expression is confessed earlier in the century by the hero of Karl von Holtei's drama Shakspear in der Heimath (1840):

'Aber ach! dann soll ich es in schwarze Zeichen bannen, in enge Schrift, was erst so bunt, so weit, so mächtig war;...' (I, iii).

Dürer in F.A. Gelbocke's drama on the subject of his death considers that he desecrates his vision by communicating it to his wife through the medium of a picture. Similarly the hero of Rudolf Baron von Gottesheim's William Shakespeare (1883) is keenly aware of the damage which imperfect expression can do to the highest vision of an artist:

'Ist etwa das Vernunft, wenn statt nach Glück,

'Man mühevoll, mit Schweisz nach Worten sucht,

'Um zierlich auszudrücken, was das Glück?'

(scene v).

Wilhelm von Polenz's drama on Kleist shows an incident, founded on fact, in which the poet, having expressed his inspiration in words, tears up his work lest it should fall into the hands of others and be thereby desecrated.

The unwillingness to communicate vision in tangible terms, the distrust of the medium which is seen in many late-century dramas presents as great a contrast to the easy, unconscious power of expression shown by many artist-heroes of the Romantic period as it does to the attitude of most mid-century heroes whose relentless desire was to communicate their inspiration at all costs.

CONCLUSION.

In the study of 19th-century artist-dramas one fact emerges with striking clarity. There are two main aspects in which the central artist-figure may be presented - his nature, life and work may be seen through either his own eyes or those of his fellowmen. Within these two aspects, as has been seen, infinite nuances of treatment are possible, and, when one reviews the heroes created throughout the century, one is confronted by a series of varied artist-types. A certain unity is however distinguishable in the great diversity of figures which thus emerge. It has been indicated that one may observe a steady chronological pattern in the various aspects which are emphasised in the dramas; consequently the artist-types tend also to attach themselves to one period of the century rather than another. The fact that one may consider the types distinguishable among the artist-heroes in a chronological sequence, shows clearly that the presentation of the artist has developed during the period.

One artist-type which immediately springs to mind is that seen in a few dramas written for the most part in the early years of the century. He is an essentially

normal man, considered as such by his fellowmen and, himself, regarding his art as a mere trade, to be practised for financial gain. The living of a normal life is all-important to him; his art does not come into conflict with his life, for it merely constitutes his livelihood. The art which he does create is uninspired, being mechanically produced for purely commercial purposes. This artist-type is, however, generally presented with irony and thus acts as a negative counterpart of the seriously treated artist of contemporary times - the hero of the great majority of Romantic dramas. In every respect this serious Romantic artist-hero is the mirror-image of the satirical type: he is a god among men, adored and worshipped by them and conscious of his own lofty position in the world; in many cases he turns away from his isolated situation and desires to descend into normal life, but he inevitably realises that his place is not among ordinary men but in solitude with his art. Fame is marrow to his bones; his art is divinely inspired; the expression of the initial inspiration is a natural, spontaneous process.

A contrasted artist-type to this seriously presented Romantic hero - of which Sappho is an obvious example - is that which appears predominantly during the time when

a Realistic outlook prevailed. This artist is an ordinary man who, however, values his art greatly and desires to devote himself to it. He cannot do so, for his human responsibilities interfere with his single-minded concentration, and, in the inner conflict which he endures, his sense of duty to society prevails. His devotion to his art is never in question - he creates for the sake of creating; finds his inspiration in the contact of his own mind and external experiences; struggles to express his vision in the best possible form and succeeds in doing so. However, his art must be renounced if his life as a normal man is at all disturbed by it. The artist cannot devote himself to both his art and his social obligations, and in the inevitable conflict art must be abandoned.

Again in contrast to this Realistically minded artist-type - the hero of Hebbel's Der Dichter for instance - appears the hermit-type which predominates in the later years of the 19th century. In Die versunkene Glocke and Der Tor und der Tod may be seen elements of this kind of artist - he is an ordinary man but endowed with unusual powers. His fellowmen regard him as superior to themselves in intellect while he himself is confident of

his position high above normal life. He desires only to escape from the banal existence of his fellows and to cultivate in solitude his remote, objective type of art. He desires no reward for his efforts to create, other than the satisfaction of striving towards an ideal. His inspiration he finds within his own mind, aloof from experience of the world. He aims at nothing less than perfection of expression and, this being out of his reach, is happy to strive towards it or to maintain his vision unexpressed.

Distinct artist-types tend, then, to appear more in one period than in another during the 19th century, and they form a sequence leading from Romanticism through Realism to Aestheticism. A clear idea of the main aspects in which development takes place in the conception of the artist may be obtained from a comparison of three statements by Grillparzer, Hebbel and Hofmannsthal. Grillparzer, speaking of the artist, says: 'Jeder, der eine, wenn auch nur subjektiv wahre Beziehung der Dinge auf das Gemüth (1) entdeckt und darzustellen weisz, ist ein Dichter.' - and again: 'Ein Weiser mag und soll höher stehen als seine

(1) Tagebücher III. No.2088. In Werke ed.cit. Abt.II, vol.9. p.137.

Zeit, der Dichter als solcher nicht; aber ihr Gipfel
 soll er seyn.⁽¹⁾ These typical pronouncements of
 Grillparzer clearly show that he emphasises in his
 conception of the artist his personality, his subjective
 value, his position as greatest representative of his
 time, and his power to express and present in external
 terms his inner vision. The artist as a figure is all-
 important to him; art is essentially expression. How
 different is the tone of Hebbel's Epigram:

Die Situation des Dichters.

'And're schaffen, damit sie das Leben sich

sichern; dem Dichter

' Musz es gesichert sein, eh' er zu schaffen
 vermag.'⁽²⁾

Here Hebbel shows himself preoccupied with the artist's
 situation in relation to society and with his inevitable
 conflict with the world in which he lives. Again, in
 the poem Dichterloos, Hebbel stresses the value of the
 artist's work and his harsh fate as a man in the world;
 he is compared to a diver:

(1) Tagebücher I. No.593. In Werke ed.cit. Abt.II, vol. 7.
 p.236.

(2) In Epigramme und Verwandtes. S.W. ed.cit. Abt.I, vol.6.
 p.358.

' So geht es dem Dichter. Aus dem Meer der Zeit
'Fischt er die Perlen der Ewigkeit.

'Doch verschlingt ihn der Zweifel, der grausame,

nicht,
(1)

'So zermalmt ihn des Undanks Atlasgewicht.'

A different obsession is reflected in Hofmannsthal's words:

'...dass ich ernsthaft erkannt zu haben glaube, dass man über die Künste überhaupt fast gar nicht reden soll, fast gar nicht reden kann, dass es nur das Unwesentliche und Wertlose an den Künsten ist, was sich der Beredung nicht durch sein stummes Wesen ganz von selber entzieht, und dass man desto schweigsamer wird, je tiefer man einmal in die Ingründe der Künste hineingekommen ist.'⁽²⁾

This author considers art entirely for itself, is preoccupied with the problem of expression as a struggle with the absolute, and indicates his preference for unexpressed vision over any desecration of it by an inadequate form. Thus in these three quotations is reflected the general trend in the conception of art and

(1) In Gedichte III. 1831. In S.W. ed.cit. Abt.I, vol.7 p.58.

(2) In Loris. (Die Prosa des jungen Hugo von Hofmannsthal. Berlin, 1930) - the chapter 'Poesie und Leben', p.260-1.

the artist which emerged from the study of the 19th-century artist-heroes - the emphasis shifting from the figure of the artist himself and his powers of expression to the conflict between the art-life and normal life, and further to the analytical preoccupation with art itself.

Having seen how the evolving attitude to art in the 19th century is reflected by the type of artist which the artist-dramas present, one is tempted to speculate about the artist-type which will correspond to the outlook of the early 20th century. What new features, one wonders, are emphasised in the artist-presentations after Der Tor und der Tod and Die versunkene Glocke. Thomas Mann more than anyone else in the first half of the 20th century throws light on the problem of the artist and his novel ⁽¹⁾ Tonio Kröger contains an artist who is in many respects a development of the type of Claudio and Heinrich.

In this tale great prominence is given to the attitude of the normal man towards the artist. Surely in no other presentation is the dividing line between non-artist and artist so clearly drawn. The ordinary man has no common

(1) In Neue Deutsche Rundschau, 1903. The text quoted here is that edited by Elizabeth M. Wilkinson, Oxford, 1946.

ground for contact with Tonio; he is mystified by him and cannot understand his nature nor his work. Gone is therefore the close sympathy which existed in many dramas between artist and layman. The gulf has widened again and the artist's solitude is greatly increased even in comparison to the already extreme cases of Claudio and Heinrich. From the point of view of the artist himself this aspect of his life is also valid. He is highly conscious of the difference between himself and his normal fellowmen. That difference is not, as in the case of Sappho, attributed to the artist's divine nature, nor, as in Der Dichter, is it repressed. The artists in Der Tor und der Tod and Die versunkene Glocke also consider the difference to be one of quality, the normal man being their intellectual inferior. Not so Tonio Krüger. To him an artist is to a layman as an invalid is to a healthy man. Artistic talent seems to him to be a disease which cuts the artist off from contact with his normal fellows. The complete devotion to art which Heinrich so desired, Tonio has achieved and he finds himself repelled by his life and attainments. 'Die Literatur', he says, 'ist...ein Fluch.' (ed.cit. p.40). The omniscience which Heinrich seeks

turns to ashes in Tonio's mouth: 'Es gibt etwas, was ich Erkenntnisekel nenne,...' (ed.cit., p.45). Above all, he is conscious of the lack of human contact which his life of art imposes upon him: 'Sie sind einsam...' (ed.cit. p.46), and again: 'Ich liebe das Leben.' (ed.cit. p.47). Tonio's complete disillusionment with life as an artist reminds us, however, even more strongly of the dissatisfaction of Sappho and Claudio with their existence. The hero of Der Dichter renounces a life of dedication to art not because he dislikes it but out of sheer practical necessity. Sappho and Claudio however, like Tonio, genuinely believe their single-minded devotion to art to be harmful. These three artist-heroes are certainly alike in their reverence for a normal life and their desire for full human experience. They differ however when they attempt to interpret the conditions of their life as artists. Sappho, the Romantic artist, comes finally to accept the fact that as a divine figure she must remain aloof, above normal men, untouched by their experiences. She thus voluntarily turns her back upon life in the knowledge that her place is outside it. Claudio, on the other hand, is allowed to taste life and joyfully turns away from solitude and art. Tonio however

realises only too well that no escape is possible to him. He can never be completely reconciled to his abnormality. He may never become normal. He sees as the essence of a life of art this eternal deadlock and the hopeless longing for a healthy normal existence. Heinrich, as was seen, says of his own situation:

'fremd und daheim dort unten - so hier oben

'fremd und daheim...' (IV).

Tonio, in an echo of these words, says:

'Ich stehe zwischen zwei Welten, bin in keiner daheim...' (ed, cit. p.101).

While Heinrich at the last moment is given the promise of future singleness of purpose, Tonio knows that he is doomed as an artist to an interminable struggle between two interests.

In Tonio Kröger an artist is thus seen who differs in many features from the types most recurrent in the 19th century; in him the trend towards clarity of understanding and deep introspection noticeable during that period reaches a new stage of development. Tonio's complete insight into his own problems as an artist shows the inadequacy of Claudio's or Heinrich's perception. Tonio's remoteness from the world and normal experience is

more extreme, his outlook more intellectually cold, his devotion to art more complete than in any other case. He alone realises the inexorable power of art in a man's life, when he speaks thus of the mistaken view:

'...dasz man ein Blättchen pflücken dürfe, ein einziges, vom Lorbeerbaume der Kunst, ohne mit seinem Leben dafür zu zahlen.' (ed. tit. p.52).

In the figure of Tonio Kröger the hermit-artist thus realises the barrenness of his life but shows art to be an inescapable vocation. From the blind worship of the artist's personality which was so apparent in the dramas of the early 19th century there lies an immense distance to the serious and deeply pessimistic preoccupation with art in Tonio Kröger. That distance is measured in the consecutive stages of the 19th-century outlook - Romanticism giving place to the Realist movement, which in turn yields to the movement of Aestheticism.

Volk mann H. Beethoven waren

an Munk. 17. 1905

L. Hirschberg. B. u. der D. u. Munk

37. 1910

H. Liebed. Beeth. u. d. Oelle. Bedink

Bühnen Blätter. VII. 1927

APPENDIX.

A list of the dramas used as material for the thesis,
 (1)
 arranged according to their artist-subject.

APELLES.

Friedrich von Heyden : Apelles. Schauspiel in zwey
 Aufzügen. In Dramatische
Novellen. Königsberg, 1819. II

BEEETHOVEN.

S.Wiese : Beethoven. Drama in drei Acten.
 In Drei Dramen. Leipzig, 1836.

J.B.Rousseau : Prolog zu dem am 12. November
 1836 von Seiten der Stadt Aachen
 gegebenen Konzerte für
 Beethoven's Monument. In
Romanzen und Zeitbilder.
 Düsseldorf, 1838.

(1) A few dramas have been included in this list whose date
 of publication falls outwith the 19th century, but which
 are closely related in their content to the dramas of the
 late century.

G. A. Naden

Carl Scholl

Ein Bonner

Herman Schmid

Hugo Müller

Beethoven in der Heimat, ⁽¹⁷⁷⁾
~~Lustspiel~~ 1872

- : Die Beethoven-Feier in Zürich am 16. Dezember 1853. Dramatischer Prolog.
- : Ludwig van Beethoven. Ein dramatisches Charakterbild in vier Aufzügen mit einem Epilog zur Feier von Beethoven's hundert-jährigem Geburtstage am 16. December 1870. Leipzig, 1870.
- : Beethoven. Volksstück mit Musik, Gesang und Tänzen in vier Abtheilungen. Stuttgart, [1870].
- : Beethoven. A Dramatized Episode from his Life, In one Act, Introducing his two songs, 'Adelaide' and 'Joyful and Mournful'. Translated by Gustav ⁽¹⁾ Hein. Aberdeen, 1879.

(1) As the original German version of this drama was not available, the English translation was used.

H. van Schmid.

Beethoven Volksstück
1873

Liegned Presever, Lord Byron in Spiel
der dandischen Dichtg. Ins. Erlaen 1921
(Mant.-Gen. Ausz. 1 Pl.)

R. Lottmell, Lord Byron in Italien

Karl Bleibben : Byrons letzte Liebe ¹⁸⁴⁷

Schauspiel 1836

And. John
G. v. Gantke

Lord Byron 1836

Lord Byron am Penrose
Schauspiel 1861

BOCCACCIO.

L.F.Deinhardstein

- : Boccaccio. Dramatisches Gedicht
in zwei Acten. In
Künstlerdramen. I. Leipzig,
1845. (Wien, 1816 - V.B.)

*Boccaccio von
F. Zell u. Franz v.
Puppe*

BROUWER.

Adolf Stern

- : Brouwer und Rubens. Ein Spiel
in zwei Aufzügen. Leipzig,
1861.

BÜRGER.

Karl von Holtei

- : Lenore. Vaterländisches
Schauspiel mit Gesang in drei
Abtheilungen. Berlin, 1829.

S.H.Mosenthal

- : Ein deutsches Dichterleben.
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(1) For a list of the dramas used as material for the thesis see the Appendix, p. 176

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